



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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27 September 1993

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Central African Republic

Supreme Court Declares Patasse President

AB2709110593 Paris AFP in French 1053 GMT 27 Sep 93

[Text] Bangui, 27 Sep (AFP)—Ange Felix Patasse, candidate of the Central African People's Liberation Movement, was today declared president of the Central African Republic, following the results of the second round of elections made public by the Supreme Court in Bangui. Patasse obtained 52.47 percent of the votes cast against 45.62 percent for his opponent, Abel Goumba, the candidate of the Consultative Group of Democratic Forces.

Chad

Moungar Replaces Finance Minister, Promises Reshuffle

LD2509092193 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Enough fooling around! This is the warning given to the Chadian president and his prime minister by 24 political parties gathered yesterday evening in Ndjamen. They declared that this infighting, this farce, does no honor to their functions and still less to the Republic. They stress that no one has the right to act in violation of the Charter of Transition.

As it happens, in a declaration broadcast on radio and television yesterday evening, Prime Minister Fidel Moungar answered point by point what he considers to be President Deby's allegations and slander, the latter having accused him the other day of being amateurish and lightweight. At the same time, he seemed to take steps toward a compromise. From Ndjamen, Sosthene Gargoune reports:

[Gargoune] Fidel Moungar announced some important measures: A new finance minister, whose name was not revealed, will come into office this very day to replace Robert Roingam, unilaterally sacked by the president. Condemned in the state press by the president of the Republic, the prime minister also decided to accelerate the creation of a High Council of Communications. Moreover, he announced a government reshuffle in the next few days, the creation of a committee that will be responsible for drawing up the electoral code, the blueprint for a constitution, and a committee for the defense of human rights.

Decree Names Replacement

AB2509222093 Ndjamen Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] We start this new day with decree No. (206/PR/93) appointing a new minister of finance and computer science. The president of the Republic, head of

state, chairman of the Ministerial Council, on the recommendations of the prime minister and head of government decree:

Article 1. Amos Reoulengar has been appointed minister of finance and computer science in place of Robert Roingam.

Article 2. The present decree, which takes effect right after its signing, abrogates all previous contrary provisions—notably decrees Nos. 505 and 506/PR/93 of 14 September 1993—and shall be recorded and published in the Official Gazette of the Republic.

Issued in Ndjamen on 25 September 1993 and signed by Colonel Idriss Deby.

Congo

Presidential Group, UDR Agree on 'Mutual Support'

AB2209190093 Paris AFP in French 1028 GMT 22 Sep 93

[Text] Brazzaville, 22 Sep (AFP)—The presidential group and the Union for Democracy and the Republic [UDR], the independent party led by Andre Milongo, have concluded an agreement for mutual support of their candidates in the second round of legislative elections to be held 3 October, Congolese radio announced today.

Following this agreement, the radio added, the presidential group—a coalition of parties close to Congolese President Pascal Lissouba—decided to withdraw its candidates from four Brazzaville constituencies and invited voters to vote for UDR candidates. In return UDR withdrew its candidates from one Brazzaville constituency, and from the Kindamba constituency in the Pool region of southern Congo, in favor of presidential group candidates. It called on its voters to switch votes to presidential group candidates. For this second round, already organized once and canceled, there will be balloting in 11 constituencies—five in Brazzaville and six in the rest of the country.

In June, deputies of the presidential group unanimously elected Andre Milongo as speaker of the National Assembly in an election boycotted by the opposition, which contested the election results. UDR obtained three ministerial posts in the government formed by General Joachim Yhombi-Opango after the elections. Out of the 125 seats in the National Assembly, 114 were filled in the first round of elections in May as follows: UDR, two; presidential group, 62; opposition, 49; and Mathias Dzon's independent party, the Patriotic Union for National Renewal, one.

President Lissouba's First Year in Office Reviewed

AB2309124593 Paris AFRICA INTERNATIONAL in French No. 264 Sep 93 pp 24, 25

[By Gregoire Ndaki]

[Text] Faced with commotion caused by an intransigent opposition, Pascal Lissouba has to rebuild an economy in shambles under pressure from donors. To these pressures, one must add the urgency of a social contract rendered imperative by recent developments. One year after the Congolese head of state's oath of office, there has been no change in the uncertainties surrounding the destiny of a country that refuses to yield to the demands of change.

How many people died in the June-July political and ethnic clashes in Congo? It is impossible to determine an exact figure. Even the state security agencies are illu-sively tight-lipped about the victims of this tragedy reminiscent of an age that the Congolese thought had long passed. Indeed, one has to go as far back as 1959 to find in the annals of Congolese history similar excesses of tribal hysteria, coupled this time with massive displacement of communities chased out of districts and regions where they are nonindigenes. Approximately 30,000 of such displaced persons have been turned into wanderers and reduced to abject poverty after 30 or 40 years of work; several of them, who were mutilated by knives and swords, were overtaken by events in the enclaved towns of Niari region. Given the deeply affected social fabric, there is the risk of antagonisms which is not reassuring for politicians.

Under these circumstances, and in spite of the much celebrated 6 August Libreville Accord, the greatest uncertainties still hang over Congo's political life, to such an extent that upon reading the said accord, one realizes that greater emphasis is placed on the fear of the two main political factions than on the determination to settle their dispute. The first example is Clause No. 3, which reaffirms the legitimacy of the head of state and respect for the presidential mandate. That the presidential group slightly threw a constitutionally guaranteed principle in the balance of such a precarious agreement is something to be feared. If the Libreville agreement falls through, some smart guys could capitalize on this clause, which is now displaced from its constitutional context, to throw the presidential mandate into jeopardy.

Another example of the ambiguity of the approach by the signatories to the agreement is Clause No. 6. Nowhere does this clause make any pronouncement on the fate of the National Assembly and the Yhombi-Opango government. It leaves each party to interpret the relevant constitutional implications in its own way. What is meant by constitutional continuity and respect for republican institutions till 5 October in a political landscape where reading the Constitution is by variable geometry? So many questions make one fear a climate of suspicion. The president, however, now means to arm

himself with the means to act. This is revealed by the latest appointments of generals, prefects, and secretaries to mayor's offices.

Faced with this strategy of attrition, which some people seem to have chosen to give the opponent the final blow, one distressing question keeps cropping up: One year after taking the oath of office, will Pascal Lissouba really be able to rule? It should first be noted that the error in the Congolese head of state's strategy is its underestimation of situations.

Thus, by seeking to leave his former ally the Congolese Labor Party [PCT] out in the cold in order to marginalize it, Pascal Lissouba never imagined one bit the extent to which this party could sway the political game. Until the dissolution of the National Assembly in November 1992, the professor did not really know the full might of the Union for Democratic Renewal-PCT coalition.

Today, the militia in the service of the opposition—the "ninjas," as they are called—have become a real parallel army of nearly 15,000 heavily armed men who can stand up at any time to a divided regular army and who remind Congolese of the exploits of the civil defense organizations of the sixties. Furthermore, by virtually controlling Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire, the two main centers of economic activity in the country, the opposition appears to have occupied strategic positions and represents a state within a state.

Lissouba, however, holds an important trump card: the legitimacy conferred on him by universal suffrage. Even among the most sensitive in the opposition, there are people who are convinced that a sudden disruption of a mandate secured through the ballot box would pave the way for all sorts of adventures. In the opinion of many observers, however, the Congolese president looks like a hostage at the center stage of an immense inter-clan game in which some do not hesitate to confide in private that they would readily sacrifice him should he make substantial concessions to the opposition.

An unlucky witness to this palace coup is Mbys Assolant, an aide to President Lissouba, who was beaten up by other aides of the head of state for seeking to publicly disclose the details of an agreement concluded between the opposition and the presidential group last February under the supervision of Monsignor Nkombo. In addition to that is a less surprising development: Yhombi-Opango, the new prime minister and former head of state, has been holding a series of meetings to prepare what he considers his revenge. There is cause to fear that the belligerent intentions of the man whom Sassou-Nguesso gleefully dismissed in 1978 may make no room at all for constitutional considerations; hence the need for a thorough job that will relieve the Congolese leader of the burden of his aides, warlords poised to settle personal scores at the expense of Pascal Lissouba and even the entire nation.

In this light, the appeal made by Jean-Pierre Thystere Tchicaya, negotiator of the Libreville Accord, assumes its full significance: "Men of reason in our country must wake up if the general interest is to prevail; for there is no worse failure for politicians than steering their country into civil war." We should rejoice that Tchicaya, the pyromaniac of yesterday, has suddenly become the fireman of today.

It is now up to Pascal Lissouba to know how to meet the expectations of a society whose configuration comprises men and women who are becoming increasingly better informed and more demanding and, consequently, entitled to look forward to a more inspiring and mobilizing message. His remarkable score at the presidential elections (over 60 percent of the votes cast) is an open invitation and a bona fide trump card to bring the Congolese together again.

Rwanda

Government, RPF Army Chiefs Meet; Bizimana Comments

EA2309202093 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0430 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Text] The meeting of the senior army cadres of the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] and the government under the terms of the Arusha Peace Accords opened in Kinyinya yesterday. For the minister of defense, Augustin Bizimana, this was a historical moment. I suggest you listen to his reaction as he was questioned by correspondents:

[Begin recording] [Bizimana] There is a provision in the peace agreements signed in Arusha, particularly in the section that concerns the protocol on the integration of the two armies, for the meeting of senior army officers of the two parties. It is in this context that we have launched the first session, during the course of which the participants will agree on the agenda for the following sessions and on the philosophy that will guide them.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you have any topics for discussion to be dealt with by the officers during their sessions?

[Bizimana] We have agreed that there will be a need for a commission that will determine the issues to be discussed during subsequent sessions, and we think in particular that such sessions will have to dwell on the national reconciliation problem: that of the troops' discipline, patriotism, defense, etc.

[Correspondent] How would you describe the first session today?

[Bizimana] I think that this first session is a historical moment in our Army's past, because the two sides that

were still fighting before 4 August are now meeting, and we can feel that the atmosphere is good.

[Correspondent] How long will the sessions continue—I mean, up to what deadline?

[Bizimana] The agreements provide for the sessions to extend for almost one year. This will be up to the point 12 months after the setting up of the broad-based transitional government. [end recording]

On his part, the coordinator of RPF political activities, Tito Rutaremara, feels that the officers, who previously could not use any other means of dialogue than arms, will from now on learn to know each other and to look at each other differently. Here are his remarks:

[Begin Rutaremara recording] This meeting was aimed at building trust between the two armies—for them to be able to talk together—so that there can be friendship between these two armies that have fought. Most of the army officers present commanded armies during the battles and did not know each other. They only knew each other through munitions, shells, and the like. Now they are meeting and talking to each other. They are even going to eat together. This is how mutual trust is developed. This is one of the objectives.

But there are other things in which they can really succeed. For instance, there are questions they can discuss and find solutions to without having to wait for the United Nations. When the United Nations arrives it will find solutions that have already been discovered. There are also some matters we can discuss and which are not well-defined in the agreements. They can discuss them and provide accurate definitions when they discuss the Arusha agreements. Where there are unclear details, they will discuss them and make them clearer. There are also details which have never been included in the agreements and which should not wait for the United Nations. They can cover these as well. [end recording]

Zaire

Cooperation Minister, Libyan Envoy Discuss Relations

AB2209191593 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1900 GMT 21 Sep 93

[Text] At the Ministry of International Cooperation, Cooperation Minister Buketi Bukaya and the Libyan charge d'affaires today continued their discussions, initiated last April, to assess the actions taken together by the two sides.

According to the Libyan diplomat, the continuation of this contact with Minister Buketi Bukaya will enable Zaire and Libya to realize their bilateral relations in the framework of South-South cooperation and added that experts of the two countries are examining the priority areas in which their relations can be strengthened.

Kenya**Moi, Rwanda's Habyarimana Issue Joint Communique**

*EA2309201593 Nairobi KNA in English 1330 GMT
23 Sep 93*

[Excerpts] Nairobi, 23 Sep (KNA)—The following is the joint communique issued at the end of the official visit to Kenya on 23 September by His Excellency Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, president of the Republic of Rwanda.

At the invitation of President Daniel arap Moi, president of the Republic of Kenya, Maj. Gen. Juvenal Habyarimana, president of the Republic of Rwanda, paid an official visit to the Republic of Kenya on 23 September 1993.

The two heads of state held talks during which they took note with great satisfaction of the excellent relations that unite Kenya and Rwanda and which are characterized by an atmosphere of mutual confidence and economic cooperation. [passage omitted]

President Juvenal Habyarimana and his brother, President Daniel arap Moi, exchanged views on the problem of Rwandan refugees living in Kenya. In this context they appreciated the Arusha declaration of 4 August 1993 which was made by the regional heads of state on the occasion of the signing of the peace agreement, and which reasserted the commitments made during previous summits, notably those made in the Dar es Salaam Declaration of February 1991 on Rwandan refugees. On his part, President Juvenal Habyarimana confirmed the commitment of the people of Rwanda to resolve this issue conclusively.

President Daniel arap Moi assured President Juvenal Habyarimana that Kenya will fully play its role in the solution to the problem of the Rwanda refugees as stipulated in the Dar es Salaam Declaration taking into account Kenya's laws and the United Nations Convention on Refugees.

The two heads of state agreed that the northern corridor will reopen on 1 October 1993. They, in this connection, directed the joint permanent ministerial committee to meet to work out modalities. President Habyarimana paid homage to President Moi for [words indistinct] transport of goods and merchandise sent as relief to the war-displaced persons. The talks between the two heads of state took place in cordial and brotherly atmosphere.

President Habyarimana expressed his sincere gratitude to President Daniel arap Moi, to the government and the people of Kenya, for the very warm fraternal welcome accorded to him and his delegation during their stay in Republic of Kenya.

President Habyarimana invited President Moi to pay an official visit to Rwanda. The invitation was accepted

with pleasure. The dates for this visit will be decided by mutual agreement and will be communicated through diplomatic channels.

Somalia**Spokeswoman Expresses Regret Over 25 Sep UNOSOM Deaths**

EA2609192993 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1700 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Text] A spokeswoman for the 12 organizations allied for the common good has expressed regret over the 25 September incident in which three UN Operation in Somalia [UNOSOM] troops were killed and the same number wounded. The spokeswoman said it is disheartening that women and children are being used as shields against artillery fire, adding that this is a violation of human rights. She called on the United Nations to immediately disarm all militias in the country and at the same time asked elders, religious leaders, and intellectuals to counsel and bring to their senses those few who have put their interests above those of the Somali people.

Demonstrators Celebrate Attack on U.S. Helicopter

AB2609202293 Paris AFP in English 1924 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Text] Mogadishu, Sept 26 (AFP)—Women and children joined a demonstration of supporters of wanted warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid here Sunday [26 September] celebrating "the victory" attack on a helicopter gunship in which three American soldiers died.

Leaders of Aidid's Somali National Alliance (SNA) whipped the crowd up into a triumphal mood, describing Saturday's attack as revenge for the capture of Aidid's right-hand man Osman Hassan Ali, called "Ato." Three U.S. soldiers with the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) were killed when militiamen downed the helicopter Saturday, sparking ground fighting that wounded three other Americans and three Pakistanis.

But despite the crowd's bravado, there was an air of nervous expectation waiting to see how the United Nations would respond to the latest killings. Supporters said it was revenge for Ato's arrest, but they were now waiting to see how the United Nations and Americans would react.

The American forces were maintaining a silence, even after reports that jubilant Somalis had paraded the soldiers' charred remains in Mogadishu Saturday. Recent attacks on UN forces blamed on Aidid's faction have resulted in U.S.-led reprisals.

Saturday's attack was the first time a U.S. attack helicopter was downed by suspected Aidid fighters. It was hit by a rocket-propelled grenade that exploded on impact, UN spokesman David Stockwell said Saturday. Major Stockwell said the the UH-60 Blackhawk gunship, flown by soldiers of the U.S. Quick Reaction Force, burst into

flames when it crashed near Mogadishu's New Port after being hit around 2 A.M. Saturday (2300 GMT Friday).

The pilot and co-pilot survived with slight injuries, but the other three soldiers in the crew were killed. According to Western military sources, two Somalis helped the two wounded Americans to escape the crash site.

SNA leaders at the regular weekly Sunday protest told the crowd that they wanted peace but they were prepared to fight to the end. But they also called on protestors not to attack journalists—an appeal which came after the U.S. leaders warned of the potential dangers of being taken hostage.

Meanwhile UN military spokesman Tim McDavitt said Sunday had been "a particularly quiet day", even though a shell landed in the UN's General Headquarters Saturday night without exploding and UN forces had discovered two groups of Somalis attempting to break into the university campus overnight. Two explosions were also heard Sunday morning close to the Benadir Hospital, which McDavitt attributed to Aidid's faction, saying he did not know the cause.

He also confirmed that a Nigerian soldier kidnapped in an ambush three weeks ago was alive, but in need of medical treatment. "We are calling upon the Aidid faction to release him so that he can get the proper medical treatment he needs," he added.

Meanwhile the UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said in an interview published in Rome Sunday that the UNOSOM mission could last another two years. He told LA STAMPA newspaper that conditions in Somalia meant the troops would have to stay there for a long time.

"You know that for a nation state there must be a people, a territory and a government. In Somalia we have a people and a territory but no government," he said. "We will be obliged to stay there for a long time to find the third element that is necessary for the nation," Butrus-Ghali said.

Aidid, wanted for the June 5 killings of 24 Pakistani peacekeepers, has evaded a massive three-month man-hunt and is still hiding in this embattled city. Four hundred elite U.S. Rangers were rushed here to step up efforts to catch the warlord after the first four Americans were killed in a mine blast last month.

Anti-Aidid Groups Pledge Support for UNOSOM

EA2409114093 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1700 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Text] The United Somali Congress, Somali African Muki Organisation, Southern Somali National Movement [SSNM], and Somali Democratic Movement today issued a joint communique following a meeting, during which they discussed the current hostilities in the country.

The chairmen of these organizations made some recommendations and suggestions. The chairmen sent their joint condolences to UN Secretary General Dr. Butrus Butrus-Ghali; Admiral Jonathan Howe, the UN special envoy to Somalia; and the families of the soldiers and civilians killed and injured in the struggle against anti-peace elements. They also sent condolences to the Somali families whose loved ones were either killed or injured in the operations.

Speaking on behalf of the 12 peace-loving organizations, the chairmen of the above organizations congratulated the SSNM, whose supporters have joined the Somali organizations seeking peace. The chairmen expressed their concern about the ongoing hostilities in a limited area in south Mogadishu. They called on those organizations busy fanning the hostilities—aimed at obstructing the UN operations intended to rehabilitate the Somali nation—to stop such action.

The chairmen agreed that any resolution of Somali affairs will be linked to the Somali people. The United Nations' work is to assist and advise [words indistinct] but a Somali group is wreaking havoc and creating obstacles. The chairmen called on the organizations to play their part in restoring peace among the Somali people.

The chairmen made a suggestion that could prepare the groundwork for the Somali communities' unity, democracy, and cohesiveness. They suggested the creation of political foundations that could legally bind the peace-seeking organizations. The chairmen issued a general call to the peace-loving Somali people to exchange hostilities and fighting over power for dialogue and understanding.

The chairmen of the four organizations appealed to the United Nations to speed up the rebuilding of the Somali nation. Finally, they pledged their support to the UN Operation in Somalia [UNOSOM] and appealed to UNOSOM officials to hold consultations with peace-loving Somali political leaders and Somali society as a whole.

UNOSOM Officials, District Leaders Hold 'Fruitful' Talks

EA2509155093 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1700 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] The chairman of Maka and Madiina District [in Mogadishu], Haji Musa Yalahow, received UN Operation in Somalia [UNOSOM] officers led by Mr. (Major) in his office today. The chairman of Maka and Madiina District first and foremost thanked the UNOSOM troops, praising them for the good work they have carried out in Somalia, especially when the country was facing collapse. He also praised them for the courageous war they are waging against the terrorist alliance. Haji Musa Sudi Yalahow added that the situation in Maka and Madiina is calming down because the general public in the two areas are jointly fighting the bandits.

Finally, the chairman appealed to the UNOSOM officers to work together in practical terms to achieve long-term objectives. He further appealed to the general public to support the UNOSOM troops fully so that they can implement their desired goal of putting Somalia back on its feet.

The leader of the UNOSOM officers said that he was delighted to hold such fruitful talks with the elders of the two areas. He urged them to hold such meetings regularly to ensure that peace prevails in the district.

The occasion, attended by many leaders from both sides, took place in good spirits and an atmosphere of complete understanding.

Somaliland Leader Orders UNOSOM To Leave Territory

EA2409200193 (Clandestine) Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali 1200 GMT 21 Sep 93

[Text] A statement released by the office of President Mohamed Ibrahim Egal of the republic of Somaliland has ordered the UN Operation in Somalia [UNOSOM] to leave Somaliland. A letter to UNOSOM officials from President Egal orders all UNOSOM officials to leave the country by 22 September at the latest. The government last week suspended all UNOSOM operations in the republic of Somaliland. They were given time to state their work plan for Somaliland or leave the country.

The head of UNOSOM-II in Somaliland, Keith (Beefan), who returned to Somaliland on 20 September, did not bring an answer to the questions the government was awaiting, including one on UNOSOM's pledges to assist the government of Somaliland. For that reason, the government has resolved to order UNOSOM-II to leave the country and pack up their property by 22 September at the latest.

Somaliland Leader Addresses Hargeysa Rally

EA2509195493 (Clandestine) Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali 1200 GMT 15 Sep 93

[Text] The president of the republic of Somaliland, Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, today addressed a public rally at Kheryada Stadium in Hargeysa. The presidential address included a general report, examination of current issues, and appeals to the general public of Somaliland.

President Egal told the people living in and around Hargeysa that the difference between the Somaliland government and the UN Operation in Somalia [UNOSOM] is that this is an independent country that

has also recovered its freedom, formed its own government, and become self-reliant.

The president added that the Somaliland government has already made its position clear to UNOSOM. Egal added that the government has asked UNOSOM not to interfere in matters pertaining to Somaliland. The president added that it is absurd and futile for some among us to see the UNOSOM representative based in Hargeysa as someone who can do something about Somaliland.

This is a democratic country, the president said, and anyone can make appeals, but it is not fair for elders who are representatives of communities to appeal to people who have no concern in this matter. The president added that our concern with UNOSOM has reached the UN secretary general and the matter is still pending. At the same time, this is a deep-rooted issue, the president said.

He added that what our country needs are people who the government can entrust with the issue of the country's independence, and thereafter, hold a referendum for the public of Somaliland, who could declare their independence.

For that reason, the issue could be placed before the UN Security Council, which now administers Somalia [as heard]. Therefore, we must show that we are people who can maintain the independence they have achieved. Egal added that last night [14 September], we received a letter from UNOSOM. He said that this letter was very different from the previous one. He added that this letter was addressed to the government of Somaliland and there were no traces of slight in it. This letter contained a lot of backtracking on the part of UNOSOM. He said, however, that what we demanded from UNOSOM has not been forthcoming.

The president said that the matter is in the hands of a committee of the Council of Ministers. We have resolved once again to submit our recommendations and reservations and pursue our claim. President Egal added that if the leadership of Somaliland implants anger and hate, people will fail to see who violated their rights, and civil war may ensue, the result of which we can predict.

The president urged the general public not to listen to lies, as they violate the citizens' rights. What we need is a national united force, he said. Egal finally said that in the past few months since the government was formed, it has remained incomplete, and he will fill all the unfilled portfolios within the next four days.

The rally was addressed before the president spoke by Hargeysa Mayor Omar Mohamed Handule Bobe, who reported on the general security and conditions in Hargeysa. The mayor praised the Hargeysa police highly and appealed to the general public to support the police force.

De Klerk, Mandela Urge International Aid in New York

Mandela Calls For Lifting Sanctions

MB2409200893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1909 GMT 24 Sep 93

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the African National Congress, ANC: "Statement of the president of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, at the United Nations, New York, September 24 1993"]

[Text] Chairperson; Your Excellencies, Ambassadors to the United Nations; ladies and gentlemen:

We are most grateful to the Special Committee Against Apartheid and its distinguished chairman, His Excellency Professor Ibrahim Gambari, as well as the United Nations as a whole, for enabling us to address this gathering today.

We have, together, walked a very long road. We have travelled together to reach a common destination.

The common destination towards which we have been advancing defines the very reason for the existence of this world organisation.

The goal we have sought to reach is the consummation of the yearning of all humankind for human dignity and human fulfillment.

For that reason, we have been outraged and enraged that there could be imposed on any people the criminal system of apartheid.

Each and every one of us have felt our humanity denied by the mere existence of this system. Each and every one of us have felt brandished as sub-human by the fact that some could treat others as though they were no more than disposable garbage.

In the end, there was nobody of conscience who could stand by and do nothing in the search for an end to the apartheid crime against humanity.

We are here today to convey to you, who are the representatives of the peoples of the world, the profound gratitude of the people of South Africa for your engagement, over the decades, in the common struggle to end the system of apartheid.

We are deeply moved by the fact that almost from its birth, this organisation has kept on its agenda the vital question of the liquidation of the system of apartheid and white minority rule in our country.

Throughout the many years of struggle, we, as South Africans, have been greatly inspired and strengthened as you took action both severally and collectively, to escalate your offensive against apartheid rule, as the white minority regime itself took new steps in its own offensive further to entrench its illegitimate rule and draw tribute from those it had enslaved.

In particular, we are most grateful for the measures that the United Nations, the OAU, the Commonwealth, the Non-Aligned Movement, the European Community and other intergovernmental organisations took to isolate apartheid South Africa.

We are deeply appreciative of similar initiatives that individual countries, non-governmental organisations, local communities and even single individuals took, as part of their contribution to the common effort to deny the apartheid system all international sustenance.

This global struggle, perhaps without precedent in the inestimable number of people it united around one common issue, has helped decisively to bring us to where we are today.

Finally, the apartheid regime was forced to concede that the system of white minority rule could no longer be sustained.

It was forced to accept that it had to enter into negotiations with the genuine representatives of our people to arrive at a solution which, as agreed at the first sitting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, would transform South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country.

This and other agreements have now been translated into a specific programme that will enable our country to take a leap forward from its dark, painful and turbulent past to a glorious future, which our people will strive with all their strength to make a future of democracy, peace, stability and prosperity.

The countdown to democracy in South Africa has begun. The date for the demise of the white minority regime has been determined, agreed and set.

Seven months from now, on April 27, 1994, all the people of South Africa, without discrimination on grounds of gender, race, colour or belief, will join in the historic act of electing a government of their choice.

The legislation has also been passed to create the institutions of state, the statutory organs that will ensure that these elections are held and that they are free and fair.

As a consequence of the creation of these statutory instruments, we have arrived at the point where our country will no longer be governed exclusively by a white minority regime.

The Transitional Executive Council, provided for in this legislation, will mark the first ever participation by the majority of our people at governmental level in the process of determining the destiny of our country.

It will be the historic precursor to the interim government of national unity which will be formed after the democratic elections of April 27th.

The other structures now provided for in law, the independent election commission, the independent media

commission and the independent broadcasting authority will themselves play their specified roles in ensuring a process of transition and a result which our people as a whole will accept as having been legitimate and therefore acceptable. We must however warn that we are not yet out of the woods.

Negotiations are continuing to agree on the interim constitution, according to which the country will be governed as the elected national assembly works on the final constitution.

There will therefore be continuing need that this organisation and the world movement for a democratic South Africa as a whole, sustain their focus on the transitional processes, so that everybody concerned in our country is left in no doubt about the continuing determination of the international community to help see us through to democracy.

The reality is that there are various forces within South Africa which do not accept the inevitability of the common outcome which all humanity seeks.

Within our country, these forces, which seek to deny us liberty by resort to brute force, and which have already murdered and maimed people in their tens of thousands, represent a minority of the people.

They derive their strength not from the people but from the fear, insecurity and destabilisation which they seek to impose through a campaign of terrorism conducted by unknown killers whose hallmark is brutality and total disregard for the value of human life.

There are other forces, which because of narrow, sectarian interests, are also opposed to genuine change. These are engaged in other actions which seek to create obstacles on the way to a smooth transition to democracy.

We believe that it is critically important that these forces too should understand that the international community has the will and determination to act in concert with the majority of the people of our country, to ensure that the democratic change which is long overdue is not delayed.

The apartheid system has left a swathe of disaster in its trail. We have an economy that is tottering on the brink of an even deeper depression than the one we are experiencing now.

What this means practically is millions of people who have no food, no jobs and no houses.

The very fabric of society is threatened by a process of disintegration, characterised by high and increasing rates of violent crime, the growth in the numbers of people so brutalised that they will kill for a pittance and the collapse of all social norms.

In addition, the absence of a legitimate state authority, enjoying the support of the majority of the people,

immensely exacerbates this general crisis, emphasising the critical importance of speedy movement forward to democratic change.

In sum, acting together, we must, at all costs, resist and rebuff any tendency of a slide towards another Somalia or a Bosnia, a development which would have disastrous repercussions extending far beyond the borders of South Africa.

What we have just said is not intended to alarm this august gathering. Rather, it is meant to say - now is the time to take new steps to move us forward to the common victory we have all fought for!

We believe the moment has come when the United Nations organisation and the international community as a whole should take stock of the decisive advances that have been made to create the setting for the victory of the cause of democracy in our country.

We further believe that the moment has come when this same community should lay the basis for halting the slide to a socio-economic disaster in South Africa, as one of the imperatives in ensuring the very success of the democratic transformation itself.

In response to the historic advances towards democracy that have been achieved; further to give added impetus to this process; to strengthen the forces of democratic change and to help create the necessary conditions for stability and social progress, we believe the time has come when the international community should lift all economic sanctions against South Africa.

We therefore extend an earnest appeal to you, the governments and peoples you represent, to take all necessary measures to end the economic sanctions you imposed and which have brought us to the point where the transition to democracy has now been enshrined in the law of our country.

We further urge that this historic step, marking a turning point in the history of the relations between South Africa and the rest of the world, should not be viewed as an act of abstention but one of engagement.

Let us all treat this new reality as an opportunity and a challenge to engage with the South African situation in a way that will advance the democratic cause and create the best possible social and economic conditions for the victory of that cause.

The Special Committee Against Apartheid has itself led the process of preparing the United Nations and its specialised agencies for the new reality that is the fruit of our common struggle. We trust that the UN family will therefore not delay in engaging the people of South Africa in a new way.

We trust also that the governments across the globe, that have been so central in the effort to defeat the system of apartheid, will do what they can to help us ensure the upliftment of our people.

A similar appeal extends the millions of people organised in the broad non-governmental anti-apartheid movement themselves to remain involved in the continuing struggle for a democratic South Africa and to add to their programmes the extension of all-round development assistance from people to people.

We hope that both the South African and the international investor communities will also take this opportunity themselves to help regenerate the South African economy, to the mutual benefit.

As you know, our people have not yet elected a democratic government. It is therefore important that the white minority government which remains in place in our country should not be granted recognition and treated as though it were representative of all the people of South Africa.

The Transitional Executive Council provides the appropriate mechanism for such interaction as should take place between ourselves and the international community in the period between now and the formation of the new government.

We should here mention that within the ambit of the diplomatic sanctions which many countries imposed, we also believe that such countries may now establish a diplomatic presence in South Africa to enhance their capacity to assist the people of our country to realise the common objectives.

This organisation also imposed special sanctions relating to arms, nuclear matters and oil.

In this regard, we would like to urge that the mandatory sanctions be maintained until the new government has been formed. We would leave the issue of the oil embargo to the discretion of the committee of the General Assembly responsible for the enforcement of this particular sanction.

We would further like to request that the Security Council should begin consideration of the very important issue of what this organisation should do to assist in the process of organising for and ensuring that the forthcoming elections are indeed free and fair.

This, naturally, should be accompanied by a review of the important contribution that has been made by the UN Observer Mission to South Africa, which is helping us to address the issue of political violence, to ensure that this contribution addresses adequately this continuing problem.

We cannot close without extending our congratulations to the PLO and the Government of Israel for the important step forward they have taken which, hopefully, will lead to a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East question.

To them and to the peoples and governments of the region as a whole, we extend the good wishes of all the

people of our country and the assurance of our support for their noble effort to establish justice and peace.

We continue to hope that progress will be made towards the just resolution of the outstanding issue of Western Sahara.

Angola continues to bleed. We urge this organisation and especially the Security Council to leave no stone unturned to ensure that the killing ends and the democratic process is respected.

We are encouraged by the steps that have been taken to bring peace to Mozambique and trust that no new obstacles will emerge to deny the people of this sister country the peace, stability and prosperity which they have been denied for so long.

Our common victory against the only system to be declared a crime against humanity since the defeat of Nazism is in sight. The historic need to end this crime as speedily and peacefully as possible requires that we, the peoples of the world, should remain as united as we have been and as committed as we have been to the cause of democracy, peace, human dignity and prosperity for all the people of South Africa.

Standing among you today, we continue to be moved by the selfless solidarity you have extended to our people. We are aware that by our common actions we have sought not only the liberation of the people of South Africa but also the extension of the frontiers of democracy, non-racial, non-sexism and human solidarity throughout the world.

Understanding that, we undertake before you all that we will not rest until the noble cause which unites us all emerges triumphant and a new South Africa fully rejoins the rest of the international community as a country which we can all be proud of.

Thank you.

PAC, Chamber of Business, Others React

MB2409183693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1801 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 24 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela on Friday called for the repeal of all non-military sanctions against South Africa and for active reinvestment to ensure successful political reform. Addressing a special sitting of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid—which since 1962 led the sanctions campaign against white-ruled South Africa—he said: “We believe the time has come when the international community should lift all economic sanctions against South Africa.”

His call was widely expected and it came a day after South Africa's white parliament voted in favour of including blacks into a multiparty Transitional Executive Council (TEC) which will pave the way for next year's first non-racial election on April 27.

Mr. Mandela said the UN arms embargo should remain in place until a government of national unity had been formed after the election. The UN itself should decide on the lifting of its oil embargo, he said.

He appealed to investors to help regenerate South Africa's troubled economy. Millions of people were without jobs, food and homes and the moment had come for the world to help prevent the slide into socio-economic disaster. Social disintegration was already evident in rising violent crime. "The reality is that there are various forces within South Africa which do not accept the inevitability of the common outcome which all humanity seeks."

It was critical that these forces understood that the international community and most South Africans would act together to ensure that democratic change was not delayed, Mr. Mandela said.

First reactions at home and abroad welcomed his call, but the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] appealed to the United Nations and United States to ignore it.

PAC Secretary-General Benny Alexander said it was wrong for Western countries to engage in programmes of economically propping up the "current aggressive ruling class". He said Mr. Mandela was ignoring "the continued killings of scores of Africans" by calling [words indistinct].

The South Africa Chamber of Business (SACOB) said the country would now be able to participate in the global economy and increase its share of international trade.

SACOB Director-General Raymond Parsons said it opened the way to finalising foreign debt rescheduling arrangements as well as giving South Africa full access to the resources of international agencies such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

He warned, however, that long-term foreign investments would not return to South Africa overnight. "South Africa's ability to attract such essential funds will depend upon a reduction in violence, an eventual political settlement and certainty about the economic policies that will be pursued by a new government," he said.

More than 40 leaders of a United States movement to support democracy in South Africa, Africa Fund, also welcomed Mr. Mandela's call and urged returning US corporations to help redress the economic and social legacy of apartheid. It said the challenge ahead was to ensure next year's elections were genuinely free and fair, and that new investment empowered the black majority.

REUTER reported that New York Mayor David Dinkins called for a repeal of a New York city anti-apartheid law which could free as much as US\$40 billion in city pension funds for investment in South Africa.

Mr. Dinkins made the announcement after Mr. Mandela's UN address. "Today I have forwarded to the City

Council of the city of New York a bill that calls for the repeal of the New York Anti-Apartheid Law," Mr. Dinkins said.

He said this would open the way for teachers and other city unions which had refused to invest funds in South Africa to do so again. He said the amount involved was about US\$40 billion.

In addition, he said, he had learned that California would be taking similar actions, possibly at the weekend.

Further on PAC Response

MB2509062893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0821 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] New York Sept 24 SAPA— The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] on Friday called on the United Nations and United States to ignore the call by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela for the lifting of sanctions. The PAC's observer mission to the UN in New York said in a statement it would make it clear when it addressed the body on Tuesday it was wrong for Western countries to engage in programmes of economically propping up the "current aggressive ruling class".

"Mr Mandela thrives on meaningless generalities, woolly concepts, fantastic naivety and do-goody phraseology to hide the fact that he is misleading the masses in the country," PAC Secretary-General Benny Alexander said. "He calls for the lifting of sanctions because of the proposed establishment of a Transitional Executive Council. He ignores the continued killings of scores of Africans."

India To Honor Call

MB2609135293 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Text] India has announced that it's lifting its trade and investment sanctions against South Africa in response to calls by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. An Indian External Affairs Ministry spokesman said that South Africa had made irreversible progress towards a nonracial and democratic society. He said Air India would introduce biweekly flights from Bombay to Johannesburg from early next month.

De Klerk Seeks Development Support

MB2409145393 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 24 Sep 93

[From the "Channel Africa Report" program]

[Text] South African State President F.W. de Klerk has called on the international community to support attempts to normalize economic and political development in South Africa. His statement, made in New York, follows the passing by the South African Parliament yesterday of an important bill to facilitate next year's elections. Stephen Gunyon reports:

[Begin recording] [De Klerk] Of particular importance among those bills are obviously the Transitional Executive Council, which will bring into being a multiparty executive council which will focus on the management of the elections, which will focus on ensuring that there is a level playing field, that the election will be free and fair.

[Gunyon] President de Klerk said he was encouraged by the positive reaction he had received from the Clinton administration, the European Community, and the Commonwealth regarding the lifting of sanctions. This would also open doors for South Africa at the International Monetary Fund. IMF Director for Africa Mamoudou Toure said in New York that the organization would make \$1,000 million available to South Africa as soon as all prerequisites had been met, with another \$1,500 million after next year's elections. Mr. Toure said he envisaged a problem-free transitional government:

[Toure] Democracy, particularly in Africa, is a kind of consensual democracy. That means a majority of 60 or 50 does not guarantee political stability, and if you wish to really have a smooth transition, even though you are a majority, you have to still seek for consensus.

[Gunyon] Meanwhile, African National Congress President Nelson Mandela, who is expected to address the Special Committee Against Apartheid this evening, addressed the problem of violence in South Africa at a news conference in New York.

[Mandela] It is clear that until a democratic government controls the security forces, elements in the security forces and in the right wing generally who do not want democracy will continue to fuel this violence. [end recording]

Mandela, De Klerk Address Washington Economic Congress

Mandela Reiterates Lifting Sanctions

*MB2409203593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1994
GMT 24 Sep 93*

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the African National Congress, ANC: "Statement of the president of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, at the World Economic Development Congress, Washington D.C., September 24 1993"]

[Text] Chairperson, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen—I would like to thank the organisers of this important congress most sincerely for giving us the possibility to participate in its work and to meet and share views with its distinguished participants.

I would also like to extend to you our sincere appreciation for the interest in and concern for our country which you have demonstrated and continue to sustain. After all, we are human beings first. Therefore all of us could not but be moved to action when confronted by a

political and socio-economic system as inhuman and offensive to all norms of decency as the apartheid is and has been.

That common action against apartheid by the peoples of the world, including yourselves, has brought us to the point where it was possible for us earlier today at the United Nations in New York, to call on the international community to lift all existing economic sanctions against South Africa.

I am pleased and honoured that so soon after that meeting, I have the opportunity to address the same appeal to this eminent congress. We appeal to you, who are important players in the world economy, to seize this historic moment of the lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa, to look afresh at our country in terms of investment, trade and other economic opportunities.

We will return to this point but would, in the meantime, like to assure you of the firm commitment of the ANC [African National Congress] in ensuring investor confidence in South Africa and creating the conditions that would make her attractive to all investors, both domestic and foreign.

We look forward to building a new partnership with you which will benefit both yourselves and our people. We believe the call to lift all economic sanctions says to us all that the moment to build that partnership is now.

The economic sanctions that were imposed as a peaceful measure to secure the end of apartheid system, have brought us to the point where the necessary decisions have now been taken regarding the transition of South Africa from apartheid to a non-racial democracy. The first truly general elections in our country will take place on April 27th, 1994.

The process has also started of constituting the statutory bodies, including a governmental Transitional Executive Council and an independent election commission, which will organise and conduct the elections and ensure that the conditions exist for these elections to be free and fair.

It is true that there are some among our compatriots who are still determined to resist the inevitable, not least of all by resorting to violence, hoping to create such fear and instability as would make a negotiated settlement impossible.

It is also true that this violence has claimed and continues to claim many lives. It remains a problem we have to solve as a matter of the greatest urgency, both to save human lives and property and to ensure the success of the peaceful transition to a democratic society.

I would however like to take this opportunity to assure you that despite the unacceptably high levels of this violence, it is not true that the country as a whole is engulfed in an escalating maelstrom of so-called black-on-black violence.

The reality is that there is no political violence over the greater part of our country.

The most pernicious violence that we experience is conducted by organised elements who are intent on blocking progress to a just society.

This is not violence that is, as is sometimes said, inevitable in a society in transition. Nor is it a reflection of ethnic feuds which are assumed to be characteristic of African societies.

The violence we are experiencing is planned and orchestrated for the definite purpose of producing the greatest amount of fear, insecurity and instability. It is executed in such a manner that it promotes this objective, to discourage and stall the advance to democracy.

We are convinced that it will be possible to take new measures to address this scourge once the multi-party Transitional Executive Council and a new national peace keeping force become operational.

We speak on this matter at some length because the media tends to give a very distorted picture of what is happening in South Africa, underestimates the importance of the structures I have just mentioned and may not fully appreciate the decisive impact that the transition to democracy will itself make in terms of creating the conditions for peace in our society.

We are fully cognisant of the importance of peace and stability to help the investor confidence of which we have spoken. For this reason and for the sake of life itself, we will leave no stone unturned in the struggle to ensure that both political and criminal violence are addressed effectively.

No longer should you and ourselves be subjected daily to the horrifying newspaper and television pictures of bodies lying dead in the streets of our towns and cities.

In our situation, there can be no gainsaying the fact of the intimate relationship between the twin processes of political and economic transformation. Both impact on and reinforce each other.

We are determined to ensure that we do indeed create the political order in South Africa which has been agreed by the majority of the political formations involved in the negotiations—namely, a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country.

This will be a political system characterised by the supremacy of the constitution, to guard against arbitrary rule, a multi-party system, the protection of human rights through the adoption of an entrenched and justiciable bill of rights, an independent and representative judiciary and the rule of law.

Furthermore, throughout the process of negotiations we have been guided by the principle that, given especially

the fact that we inherit an apartheid society, we should seek a solution in which all the people of our country would be winners.

We have avoided any situation in which some would be losers and others winners. What all of us have had to defeat is the system of apartheid, acting in concert to craft a political settlement that will ensure the victory of democracy.

It is for these reasons that we have agreed with the majority of our interlocutors that after the elections of April 27th next year, all the significant political parties that will be elected to the national assembly should come together in an interim government of national unity to ensure the smoothest possible transition to a settled democratic order and to ensure that no section of our population feels threatened by this change.

Despite everything we have said, it is also true that there are some in our country who evidently became so captured by the ethnic and racial "solutions" of the apartheid system, that they cannot break out of this particular mould, which has led our country into the morass from which we are trying to break out which even the National Party, the architect of this system, now seeks to repudiate.

We would appreciate any contribution you can make to persuade these that you cannot replace a failed ethnically and racially based system by building the new reality with the same ethnic and racial blocks which have led our country and people to division, conflict and violence.

We ourselves continue to do our best to engage these forces, to seek an acceptable accommodation with them and to persuade them to continue the dialogue with all other political formations in the country so that their concerns can be addressed around the negotiating table.

The political settlement we are striving to achieve should create the conditions of peace and stability without which economic growth and development would not be possible.

And yet it is also clear that unless we successfully address the questions of economic growth, development and an equitable distribution of opportunity, wealth and income, to end the wide-spread poverty and the racial disparities imposed on our country by the system of apartheid, it will be difficult to guarantee the stability of the democratic settlement.

We are faced with an economy that is in decline. For a considerable period of time now, it has, inter alia, had to contend with declining rates of capital formation, large exports of capital, a continuing reliance on the export of raw material and precious metals, a low and declining capacity to absorb new entrants into the labour market, low levels of productivity, high inflation levels and the diversion of a significant part of the gross national product into the recurrent government expenditure.

Much of this has happened precisely because of apartheid. The transition to a democratic society gives us the opportunity and possibility to address these and other matters, to reverse the economic decline, modernise and restructure the South African economy, make it internationally competitive and enable it to serve the needs of the South African population at large.

We are, of course, not promising that miracles will occur overnight. We are however convinced that our economy has the underlying strength and the country the infrastructure which will enable us to achieve the objectives we have just stated within a reasonable period of time.

Among the objectives that have to be achieved are that: public and private sector investment as a proportion of the gross domestic product must increase substantially; private sector investment in manufacturing, as opposed to other sectors of the economy, should also increase substantially; manufacturing industry should also be transformed away from import substitution to produce more for export at internationally competitive prices; the levels of productivity should be increased substantially through a variety of measures related to education and training; there should be an increase in the aggregate labour/capital ratio to ensure a higher absorption of labour by the formal sector of the economy and a reduction of the intolerably high levels of unemployment that afflict millions of our people today; various measures will have to be adopted to expand the domestic market to enhance the domestic demand-pull element in the economic revival; and, serious efforts will have to be made to ensure that the public sector does not absorb disproportionately high levels of national savings and that the public debt is reduced and held at reasonably low levels. Sooner or later negotiations will have to start, hopefully resulting in our preferential access to the European Community, the North American and the Japanese markets.

This is of especial importance given that 60 per cent of our gross domestic product derives from our exports and imports.

With regard to this preferential access, I would also like to make the observation that as a result of a statistical fiction, South Africa is not classified as a developing country.

The GATT has offered the slightly better classification of an "economy in transition". The real problems we have to deal with are, for the overwhelming majority of the population, those that are faced by peoples in other developing countries.

We will continue to press this matter, not out of selfishness, but because of the reality of the problems that our country faces.

The lifting of economic sanctions will also lead to the normalisation of our relations with the international financial institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank and the African Development Bank.

As I am sure you will understand, we are determined to handle our economic affairs in such a way that any support and assistance that accrues from these important institutions does not impact negatively on our national sovereignty or on our capacity to address the imperative task of addressing the inequalities that we inherit from the system of apartheid.

We are ready, in the context of the Transitional Executive Council, to enter into substantive discussions with the international financial institutions and are both pleased and encouraged by their own willingness to enter into this process.

As part of the process of the normalisation of relations with the rest of the world, we have also been party to negotiations concerning the rescheduling of the debt caught in the standstill imposed by the Botha regime in 1985.

We have been keen that this matter should be resolved without delay and to the mutual satisfaction. We are keen that our country can meet its debt obligations.

The agreement we sought was one that would be sympathetic to the fact that the democratic government that will be elected next year will be confronted with enormous economic challenges. Among these would be the generation of sufficient foreign exchange to help sustain any upturn in terms especially of creating new production capacity in the country.

We would like to think that between ourselves and those of you in this congress who are bankers, there will be a shared interest in ensuring that the South African economy develops as quickly as possible to be able to service the existing debt and absorb new loans without this imposing such debt servicing obligations that it cannot grow.

Clearly, the South African economy cannot sustain the levels of net capital exports that it has had to contend with for some time and would deeply appreciate any contribution by the banks to help us address this problem.

We are also conscious of the fact that, as South Africans, we have to attend to the considerable seepage of capital from our country which results from the resort by some domestic investors to questionable business practices in the conduct of their international dealings.

As a token of our commitment to normalise our economic relations with the rest of the world, we are working with the present government of South Africa and other important players to negotiate an agreement on our tariffs in the context of the Uruguay Round.

We have not engaged in any special pleading but would like this to be taken into account that we are not only an economy in transition, but also a dual economy, with only a minority of the population involved in the sector that can survive the immediate implementation of trade liberalisation policies.

We believe that, by any standards, the southern African region constitutes an economic zone of enormous potential and which should interest all business people capable of participating in the international economy.

For obvious reasons, South Africa is and will be an important player in this geo-economic area. We are convinced that we can play an important role with regard to economic reconstruction and development in this area, not in search of domination, but in context of balanced regional development and cooperation.

But unlike the developed regions of the world, such as the EC, NAFTA and the Pacific rim, there is no country in the region of southern Africa with sufficient resources to play the role that other developed countries have played in the formation and growth of regional economic entities.

This is a challenge that the peoples of our region will have to deal with together. But what we would hope for is that you, who can lend us support by your involvement in the economies of southern Africa, will see it as necessary and in your interest to seek such involvement to strengthen a region which can inspire an African economic revival and, thereby, contribute to the revival and development of the world economy and peace among the peoples.

Let me end by saying that we are acutely conscious of the fact that the whole world is competing for limited investment capital.

In this regard, we are determined to ensure that the new South Africa is as attractive to the international investor as any other country.

We are therefore ready to address such matters as the security of investments, repatriation of profits and dividends, competitive rates of taxation and stable and predictable public policies.

We are however certain that, as possible or actual corporate citizens of the new South Africa, you are sensitive to the challenge that, together, we have to dismantle the system of apartheid not only in politics but also in the economy.

This requires that, again together, we address such issues as black economic empowerment, fair labour practices and socially responsible investment, including the protection of the environment.

I would like to take this opportunity to invite everybody present here to visit us in South Africa so that we can continue our dialogue and arrive at the point where we do indeed build the partnership I have spoken of, a partnership that will add to the common struggle to build the world economy and thereby create the conditions for prosperity for all and peace, stability and democracy for the peoples of the world.

We are, after all, part of the same world economy. Poverty in one country impacts on the other. Prosperity and stability in one continent in the end can never

survive unless others share in those common human imperatives. There is no such thing as a successful business venture while it is surrounded by an inferno of social unrest that is driven by poverty and deprivation.

The transformations taking place in South and southern Africa provide us all with the opportunity to join hands in a mutually beneficial effort to regenerate the development of this region and thereby reinforce the development processes that are taking place in the countries and regions which you, the distinguished participants at this congress, represent.

Thank you for your kind attention.

De Klerk Lists Principles for Consensus

MB2609073693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2231
GMT 25 Sep 93

[By Sean Feely]

[Text] Washington Sept 25 SAPA—South African State President F W de Klerk urged on Saturday for a national consensus to ensure the country achieved rapid and sustainable economic growth. Speaking in Washington at the World Economic Development Congress, Mr de Klerk said South Africa's expected government of national unity would have to avoid policies which crippled the economy.

He told the gathering of over 300 international business people that South Africa could not afford the pitfalls of excessive government spending, the redistribution of wealth, and bickering between companies and trade unions. "If we are to avoid these pitfalls... it will be essential for the newly elected leaders in the transitional government of national unity to hammer out a national consensus on the basis of which South Africa will be governed for the next five years."

The South African premier expected the 20 main political players to reach agreement on a transitional constitution and its future principles before the end of October. He proposed three principles on which national consensus should be achieved by all the main political players:

- There would have to be a clear commitment to substantially improving the lives of all South Africans by addressing the backlogs in education, housing, health care and social welfare,
- The country's various interest groups needed to agree on and pursue a common cause, particularly between business, organised labour and the government, and
- Free market enterprise also needed to be entrenched in the country's economy, which would involve fiscal discipline, secure investment and property rights and a skilled and well-motivated workforce.

Mr de Klerk's closing address to the World Economic Development Congress followed on African National Congress President Nelson Mandela's key note speech to the conference on Friday.

Observers saw both South African leaders' comments as an effort to woo foreign investors and encourage confidence in South Africa following Mr Mandela's appeal to the international community to lift remaining economic sanctions against the country earlier on Friday.

Mr de Klerk met with former US President Ronald Reagan as well as a group of 50 prominent American business men on Friday morning in New York before leaving for Washington.

"If we can achieve such a national consensus, and I'm confident that we will, I do not have the slightest doubt that we will become one of the success stories of world economic development," Mr de Klerk told the international gathering. He said South Africa's economy could achieve an economic growth rate of four per cent per year, and this would also lead to considerable benefits for the country's neighbours. "A prosperous South Africa will have a slip-over effect on the region in terms of economic growth and employment prospects."

The country could play a pivotal role in helping southern African states to develop infrastructure and a cohesive regional strategy to sectoral economic growth. "Some would say that any future (SA) [South African] Government will be so preoccupied with the country's own overwhelming internal challenges that it will have little interest in the region. The South African Government and some of its main political interlocutors, however, are thinking more and more in terms of the Southern African region as a whole as a vehicle for economic growth and development."

Mr de Klerk also said significant progress was being made on the country's economic front. Finance Minister Derek Keys would announce on Monday a final deal on the rescheduling of the country's debt caught within the standstill debt. An agreement was also close to being finalised with the International Monetary Fund on a loan of some 850-million US dollars under the global lending agency's relief mechanism known as the Compensatory and Contingency Facility Fund. In addition, the country had made a new offer to the world trade liberalisation body, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs.

Mr de Klerk said these things had all been achieved through widespread consultation and consensus with South Africa's major political players. This co-operation which was largely embodied in the national economic forum would be strengthened with the setting up of the Transitional Executive Council [TEC].

The TEC, part of a package of legislation aimed at levelling the political playing fields ahead of April's elections, was passed by Parliament as Mr de Klerk left on Thursday for his three-day visit to the United States.

The South African president also met with United Nations Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali during his visit and on Friday night attended a dinner with Mr Mandela at which they both made a toast to South Africa. Mr de Klerk leaves Washington on Saturday night and arrives in London on Sunday where he will meet with British Prime Minister John Major.

De Klerk Arrives in London for Talks With Major

*MB2609165493 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1600 GMT 26 Sep 93*

[Text] The state president has arrived in London from Washington for talks with the British prime minister, Mr. John Major. President F.W. de Klerk said at Heathrow Airport that South Africa needed investments and that he would not ask for handouts during his visit. The state president brought home the same message during his visit to the United States.

International economic sanctions have just been lifted against South Africa.

Major To Support Loans Bid

*MB2709065693 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 0500 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] British Prime Minister John Major says he will support steps to obtain World Bank loans for South Africa and that he will encourage investments in view of the progress made toward democracy. Speaking after talks in London with the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, Mr. Major said he would welcome South Africa's return to the Commonwealth and that South Africa would be welcomed back into international bodies.

IFP's Buthelezi Delivers Speech Marking King Shaka Day

*MB2609155293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1119
GMT 26 Sep 93*

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the Office of the Chief Minister of KwaZulu: "King Shaka Day celebrations speech by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of kwa-Zulu and president of Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP], King Zwelithini Stadium, Umlazi, September 26 1993"]

[Text] Mr master of ceremonies; Your Majesty, King of the Zulus; the minister who led devotions and other religious leaders present; Her Worship the Mayor of Umlazi, Miss Xulu and other councillors present; ama-khosi of the district; Honourable Ministers and Honourable Deputy-Ministers; members of the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly; senior officials from all departments; indunas and tribal councillors present; members of the Zulu nation; distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, our dear sons and daughters of Africa.

Your Majesty, I stand before you and the Zulu people on this truly great occasion. I am deeply honoured to be able to address the Zulu people in your presence and to

present Your Majesty to them. Today holds great meaning for the Zulu people, for it is today that we, in the presence of you, our reigning monarch, pay homage to your illustrious forefather and the founder of our great nation, King Shaka ka Senzangakhona ka Jama, ka Ndaba ka Mageba ka Zulu ka Malandela.

If we look at all the great kings and monarchs of southern Africa, it is King Shaka who stands head and shoulders above all others. It was King Shaka who moulded Zulus from a small and insignificant clan into the great and mighty nation that we are today. It was King Shaka who made us into a bold and courageous people who are not scared to fight our enemies and yet who are also kind and helpful to those in need. While King Shaka instilled in us the spirit of the warrior, he also inspired in us humility and the spirit of Ubuntu. It is this spirit of Ubuntu which binds us as a people, which makes us what we are and which gives us a reason for living.

King Shaka must not only be praised for his achievements in bringing our nation together. He must not only be praised for having the vision in opening up his kingdom to the white man. Right from the beginning of his rule, King Shaka realised that the Zulu people could not live in isolation but had to forge ties not only with their neighbours but also with the European settlers. It was King Shaka who opened the door to European settlement in Durban.

It was King Shaka who encouraged trade with the settlers and brought increased prosperity amongst our people. It was also he who opened the door for missionaries to work amongst our people. With the help of the missionaries the Zulu people have become a people of God.

It is thanks to the work of the missionaries who came to teach us about the Christian gospel, and with our unwavering belief in God, that one day we too will join our maker in heaven. We did believe in God before the white man came as Umvelingangi.

Although we have come here to pay homage to the founder of our nation, our meeting today must also aim to secure the unity and strength of the Zulu people. It is on occasions such as this, that Zulus can stand together as one. It is on such occasions that we can assert our Zuluness and share what it means to be a Zulu. It is on these occasions that we can remember the past and plan for the future.

We want to bring about unity between our people. We want Zulus to stop killing Zulus. We want our brothers to join hands so that we can fight our real enemies and not each other. It is only through peace and unity that we can rebuild our people into the nation which would make our great King Shaka feel proud.

While we urge all Zulus to stand together, we are aware that there are many who try to drive us apart. Many academics in universities criticise us and accuse us of sowing the seeds of division amongst the black people. Many argue that we are putting the interests of the Zulu

people above the need to forge unity amongst all black people so that we can fight racism and white supremacy. We disagree with their view that by being proud of our culture and heritage, that we are dividing the black people of our country.

We say to these people: We are both Zulus and South Africans. As Zulus we are a proud nation with a proud history. We must therefore not be afraid to celebrate our uniqueness and our Zuluness. But while we say that all Zulus must acknowledge their Zuluness, we also say that Zulus must identify with the broader South African people of which we are part. In all our initiatives in this region of kwaZulu/Natal, from the Buthelezi commission right up to the kwaZulu/Natal indaba, the joint executive authority and the joint services boards, we regard all the people of this region as one people.

Some people might say that the idea of being both a Zulu and a South African is impossible. We, in the kwaZulu cabinet, believe that it is possible to owe allegiance to the Zulu nation and our king and to South Africa as a whole. This we believe can be done through a federal system of government. Federalism will allow us as Zulus to rule over ourselves and will allow us to practice our culture and traditions. It will allow us to determine our own future and where we are going as a people. Unlike apartheid which looked after the rights of the Afrikaner at the expense of others, federalism will allow all the different peoples of South Africa to determine their future without imposing their will on others. Because federalism allows this, it is the only system of government which will bring peace to our country.

If we do not achieve federalism then we face becoming a people without a face, a people which is just one amongst many, a people without a future. Because we are proud of our Zulu past the IFP cannot allow this to happen. As Zulus we are respected and held in high esteem by friend and foe alike.

We are seen as symbols of courage and bravery, pride and determination. Our proud reputation is known not only within the borders of our country but extends around the entire world. Ask anyone in London or New York or Paris or Tokyo and they will speak well of the Zulu. When they talk of the Zulu they talk of bravery and courage, they talk of the fear that we instill in our enemies.

Many of our enemies are envious of our proud reputation. They despise the fact that we are admired around the world. That is why they want to see the end of the Zulu nation. That is why they want to dismantle kwaZulu. They want to leave us homeless so that we too will be forced to wander in the desert, as the people of Israel did after their emancipation from Egypt.

We must not play into the hands of these jealous people. If we do not stand up for our right to exist as a people then we will lose all the respect that the great Zulu kings and their warriors have been prepared to die for. Our proud reputation has been hard earned. It has been paid

for with blood on the battlefields at Ulundi, at Rorkes Drift, at Isandlwana and other places. If we allow our enemies to dismantle kwaZulu without offering any resistance, then we are betraying our forefathers who fought to the death, so that we could free ourselves from imperialism and colonialism. If we give in we will surely face the wrath of our forefathers.

We Zulus have had a fight to remain as a proud and independent nation since the day Shaka forged our nation out of a host of small tribes and clans. We had to fight against the English to secure our right to rule over ourselves. We had to fight the national party through peaceful means to rid ourselves of apartheid. For 45 years we have had to live under the inhuman system of apartheid. We had to live under an evil system which made us Zulus aliens in the land of our birth, which removed our people from their ancestral land and which turned us into a nation of migrants. It was a system which degraded us, destroyed our self esteem and made us beggars. Today apartheid is no more. But that does not mean that our fight to remain a proud and independent nation is over. In fact it is just beginning, as you can see by the many who are colluding to have us destroyed.

Today, while we ready ourselves to celebrate our liberation from apartheid rule, we must face up to the threat that our enemies pose to kwaZulu. They have made no bones about their intention to dismantle kwaZulu, to depose the kwaZulu government and my administration and to make our king powerless and ready to do their bidding.

We as a people have a track record of resistance throughout the ages. We fought with courage and bravery and gained the respect of the English Army. Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, MK—ANC military wing] might kill our women and children in cold blood but they are certainly no match for the Zulu warrior in any face-to-face encounter. Even with their AK-47s we will show them the disciplined and courageous fighting machine that our great King Shaka moulded us into, in the end.

The level to which MK is prepared to go can clearly be seen by the fact that entire families are being lined up against the wall and shot in cold blood. And in the Transvaal Zulus are being hauled out of their cars and shot in cold blood just because they are Zulus. This is no exaggeration. Just recently armed MK cadres forced a taxi to stop. All non-Zulus were told to stand aside and were then set free. Those who were Zulus were told to lie down and were shot dead in the back of their heads.

Just last Thursday, on September 16, one of our leaders—Mr Ethelbert Malinga, who was chairman in Ixopo, was assassinated in broad daylight while driving to his home. Just a day before that, the homestead of Inkosi Chiliza—as well as ten other homesteads, were burnt to the ground. Two IFP members, Mr Windowlene Shabalala and his son, were killed in this attack. Under apartheid rule the National Party persecuted blacks

because of the colour of their skin. This was cruel and unfair. Is the new South Africa to be a rerun of the old South Africa, where our enemies in government will kill us off in ethnic cleansing just because we are Zulus? In Kattlehong, where I visited, houses of Zulus who are not even IFP members have been targeted, people have been killed and many have left their homes.

The war against the Zulus was being carried out even while we were negotiating for a peaceful settlement to our problems at the World Trade Centre. We voiced our anger to the government and parties which sided with them. The government seems not to have done enough in stopping the killing. I realise that we as leaders also have an obligation to do something to stop the violence. The unwillingness of the government to stop MK from murdering our people was therefore one of the reasons why we pulled out of negotiations. How were we to keep negotiating when we were negotiating under the barrel of a gun? How are we supposed to negotiate peace and reconciliation when our followers are being mowed down daily in cold blood on trains, in hostels and in the townships.

The campaign to annihilate the Zulu nation is not only taking place on the ground. It is also being carried out at the negotiating forum at the world trade centre. At the heart of the latest constitutional proposals now tabled at negotiations, is the aim to destroy kwaZulu as a political force before elections take place next year. If we are to give in to their plans then the kwaZulu government will be forced to give up its power and its authority to transitional executive councils. These councils will be given the authority to disband the kwaZulu administration and to take charge of everything that is owned by the kwaZulu government, and to take charge of everything that the kwaZulu government does.

Do not be fooled by people who tell you that the transitional executive councils will be democratic and will represent all parties, including the IFP. While these councils are supposed to consist of all political parties, they are in reality dominated by the ANC and their allies, the civics. If we allow the transitional executive councils to take over the running of kwaZulu then we are in effect allowing others to rule over us. Time and time again I have said that I will never allow this to happen.

Our enemies want to disband kwaZulu because they argue that kwaZulu is a creation of apartheid and must, along with all the other homelands, be incorporated back into South Africa. We in the kwaZulu government say this is a lie. KwaZulu is not a construction of apartheid. KwaZulu existed long before apartheid. We existed long before the white man set foot on our soil. We are therefore not a construction of apartheid and never have been.

KwaZulu emerged as a sovereign kingdom way back in the nineteenth century. It secured that recognition from the Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free

State and from the British. Indeed, it was this recognition which led the British to seek to destroy kwaZulu by marching on Ulundi. As your history books will tell you, the Zulu nation under the leadership of our great King Cetshwayo valiantly fought against the imperialism of the British. Although we lost the war this does not mean that we lost our sovereignty.

In our heart therefore we are still a sovereign kingdom as we have always been. No conquest and no subjugation can ever destroy the sovereignty of a people once they have achieved it. We, the Zulu people, are a people with our own traditions, with our own history and our own rulers.

No one must under-estimate our determination to rule over ourselves. No one must under-estimate our resolve to remain free from foreign rule. If our enemies insist on subjugating us like the British and as the National Party tried to do, then we will resist. We will defend our right to rule over ourselves with all the means at our disposal, just as we did with racism and apartheid.

When I say that we are under threat I do not say this lightly. All too often before, we have been assured that we were not under threat. All too often we have believed what others have told us. We accepted the assurances of the British. We accepted the assurances of the National Party. Look where this has got us. No more will we accept the assurances of anyone but our own leaders.

I say to you today: Go home and rejuvenate yourself in the way of the Zulu. Do not allow yourselves to be swayed by the practices of other cultures. Do not be ashamed to assert your Zuluness. Do not be afraid to follow our customs which have been passed on to us by our forefathers. You are blessed with a culture which other peoples envy. You are blessed with the spirit of our great King Shaka. We have lived with other South Africans in peace and we intend continuing to do so, without abandoning what we are as a cultural group.

Teach your children to follow the Zulu culture and traditions. Teach them to feel proud about their heritage. If we do not then the valiant efforts of King Shaka to build us into the great nation that we are would all have been in vain.

It is a great privilege for me to present to you his majesty the king, who will now address you.

IFP Said Ready for 'More Flexible' Attitude in Talks

MB2609125193 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English 26 Sep 93 p 8

[By political correspondent David Breier]

[Text] The most important missing piece of the new South Africa is expected to fall into place within weeks, negotiators revealed this week. The Inkatha Freedom

Party [IFP] is close to accepting an offer of compromise from the Government and ANC [African National Congress], IFP sources say.

Crucial IFP horse-trading with the Government begins today after IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President F.W. de Klerk broke the ice earlier this month. IFP pragmatists, including its chief executive officer Joe Matthews and KwaZulu Minister of Health Ben Ngu-bane, have taken the upper hand in IFP circles and have patched up the split with hardliners such as Walter Felgate, insiders say. The IFP is now prepared to be more flexible in its talks with the Government and the ANC, which accepts behind the scenes that the IFP is essential for any lasting settlements.

Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government have been intransigent over the past year and have been the most important missing element in the multiparty talks.

The deal being thrashed out involves increasing the areas of competence of regional governments in the interim constitution, and entrenching these federal powers in the final constitution through various guarantees. These include the proposed constitutional court and increased majorities required to change federal powers.

In return, the IFP is prepared to drop its demand for a single-phase process. Until now the IFP has insisted a final constitution must be negotiated before elections to guarantee federal powers.

IFP sources say that if federal powers are strengthened and entrenched in the interim constitution with a view to the final constitution, then the demand to have them written into a final constitution in advance falls away.

The IFP is then prepared to fall in line with the two-phased process agreed to at Kempton Park. In this process an interim constitution is drawn up at Kempton Park, followed by elections, after which the elected constitutional assembly will draw up the final constitution within two years.

IFP sources also revealed that if this deal was struck, the IFP would also participate in the Transitional Executive Council [TEC], which will assume major powers in the run-up to elections due on April 27 1994.

The IFP opposed the TEC Bill in Parliament this week on the grounds that it was "putting the cart before the horse" as Inkatha wants the constitutional issue to be sorted out first. The TEC Bill is now being put on ice until negotiators at Kempton Park finalise the interim constitution, which is then due to be approved by a ceremonial plenary session, probably in November, before receiving the final rubber stamp in Parliament. This means the TEC is only likely to be established in November.

The main loser in the IFP's new pragmatic approach is the Far-Right Afrikaner-Volksfront [Afrikaner National Front, AVF], which had achieved a marriage of convenience with the IFP as they both boycotted the Kempton

Park talks. But IFP sources say this Cosag [Congress of South African Groups] arrangement would be easy to break as Inkatha has no commitment to the AVF but had made common cause for the sake of expediency.

CP Leader Promises Afrikaner Government, Parliament

MB2509063293 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] An interim government is to be established for the Afrikaner volk [nation], according to Conservative Party [CP] leader Ferdie Hartzenberg. Addressing the Conservative Party's Cape congress at George, Dr. Hartzenberg said the Executive Council of the Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front] would comprise this government, which would come into being as soon as the Transitional Executive Council began functioning. An election for an own parliament would be held soon afterwards. Dr. Hartzenberg said a series of meetings would be held from next month in order, as he put it, to demonstrate the will of the people.

Six Labor Party MP's Join ANC

MB2409081693 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Text] Six Labor Party MP's have joined the ANC [African National Congress]. However, they won't be resigning from the Labor Party. As Ronel van Zyl reports, they will be able to remain Labor Party members in terms of a resolution of the party's National Executive Committee providing for dual membership.

[Begin recording] [Van Zyl] The six new ANC members are Mr. Desmond Lockey, Mr. Moza Theron, Mr. Osie Oosthuizen, his son Mr. Sorup Oosthuizen, Mr. Chris Leander and Mr. Ben Grobler. More Labor Party MP's are expected to join the ANC in their respective regions.

[Lockey] The Labor Party's National Executive Committee has decided that we're going to participate in the next election under the ANC banner, so our support for the ANC is basically to mobilize our constituencies for the ANC in the coming election. [end recording]

ANC To Oppose Cellular Telephone Licensing

MB2309172093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1519 GMT 23 Sep 93

[By Clive Govender]

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 23 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] is preparing an application to legally invalidate cellular telephone licenses issued to two private companies by the government. ANC legal head Mathew Phosa said in Johannesburg on Thursday the movement would argue the government had negotiated in bad faith. "Our legal briefing began two weeks ago, and we are saying that the public has been prejudiced," Mr Phosa said. On this ground, the ANC would

seek legal recourse. Mr Phosa was speaking at a joint news briefing by the ANC, Congress of South African Trade Unions and the SA [South African] National Civics Organisation.

The cabinet recently approved national cellular telephone licences to Mobile Telephone Networks (Pty) Ltd and Vodacom Group (Pty) Ltd.

Post and Telecommunications Minister Piet Welgemoed said on Wednesday the contracts represented one of the greatest single investments since February 2 1990.

The ANC says different. It says the costs of operating a cellular phone is 10 times higher than an ordinary public phone, and will only produce 2,000 jobs, compared with the 20,000 envisaged by the government. ANC head of information systems and telecommunications Andile Ngcaba said the average cost for a local call using a cellular phone in London was R[and]1.70 a minute, and 4.3c[cents] for the use of a public telephone. He asked how township residents could afford these rates.

A statement handed to the conference said even if foreign investors paid R1 billion to build cellular networks, South Africans would have to fork out a further R4 billion for infrastructure. Competition would furthermore bankrupt Telkom, the statement said. Mass action was being planned and an announcement would follow shortly, the organisations stated.

Mr Ngcaba said there should be a policy framework, within which salient issues could be debated. It could provide a guide on the best possible technology.

Simple electioneering was another reason for the government's issuing of licences for cellular telephones, COSATU spokesman Neil Coleman charged. He envisaged the government using "squatters carrying cellular telephones" as part of a election strategy. "We don't believe the government has a sudden burning desire to equip people with cellular telephones," he added.

Minister Schutte: Radio Pretoria Broadcasting Illegally

MB2309180593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1716 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Text] Parliament September 23 SAPA—The fact that Radio Pretoria had continued to broadcast after the expiry of its temporary licence was clearly against the law, the minister of home affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, said on Thursday. Replying to debate on the Independent Broadcasting Authority [IBA] Bill, he said he was willing to speak to the Afrikaner Kulturbond [Afrikaner Cultural Union, AKB], the organisation which had been given the Radio Pretoria licence, and would probably meet AKB leaders on Friday.

He did not want to prejudge their representations, but he hoped Radio Pretoria was not part of the scheme of confrontation that the Conservative Party was pursuing.

If it was, the argument that the broadcasts were for cultural rather than political ends could not hold.

Mr Schutte said that out of respect for the IBA Bill, his department had placed a moratorium on issuing permanent broadcasting licences. For this reason, when the AKB applied for a permanent licence, it was refused. However, there were needs for temporary broadcasting licences within certain guidelines. It had been decided they would be issued only temporarily and only for specific occasions such as rag weeks, shows, peace initiatives or cultural occasions. Nor would temporary licenses be granted to political parties or organisations of a party political nature.

The AKB had been granted a temporary licence to broadcast for only ten hours last Saturday for the Bibliathon which promoted the distribution of Bibles. "The fact that they continued on Monday is clearly against the law," he said. "They are acting illegally."

Mr Schutte also said that to ensure the permanence of the bill, it was absolutely necessary that it be entrenched in a new constitution. This referred not only to the bill itself, but also to the way people were appointed in terms of it.

RSA Officials Take Over Lebowa Computer Center

MB2709132293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1210 GMT 27 Sep 93

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 27 SAPA—South African officials under police escort took control of the Lebowa government's computer centre on Monday, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported.

This followed a court interdict in terms of which the seconded officials will be allowed to continue their work without interference. The officials, appointed by South Africa's Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie to take over Lebowa's financial administration, were last week ordered to leave the government building by Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike.

Lebowa state officials, who were not paid last week because of irregular promotions, were still on strike on Monday.

The South African Government announced earlier it would take over Lebowa's financial administration following an investigation into irregularities of "alarming proportions" in the homeland.

The "unprecedented" step was decided at a cabinet meeting and the Lebowa cabinet was told about it at a "straight talk" meeting in Pretoria.

The main reason for the move was Lebowa's failure to pass a budget for the 1993/94 financial year within the statutorily prescribed period.

South African Press Review for 27 Sep

MB2709123993

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

White Right Attitudes Hardening—"The hardening of attitudes on the White Right, with threats of taking up arms, is the most disturbing of recent developments," declares the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 24 September. "The danger is that the TEC [Transitional Executive Council] Act may be the catalyst for White resistance. If that happens, the violence that we are experiencing, terrible as it is, will become far worse. What the situation requires, therefore, is less war talk and more appreciation of the need for conciliation."

THE STAR

Courageous Dialog Between ANC-Afrikaner Front—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 27 September in a page 8 editorial finds it "heartening" that the African National Congress (ANC) and the Afrikaner National Front (AVF) "have chosen to try to resolve their differences through negotiations." AVF leader Constand Viljoen "has risked repudiation by his own followers by meeting ANC leaders. His political courage is to be commended as being on a par with reports of his personal bravery as an officer. It is a more constructive course of action than the cheap bravado and dangerous war-talk of some of his kinsmen in the CP [Conservative Party]." The ANC leaders also "deserve praise." They have "risked censure from their more militant members and a sharply-worded propaganda offensive from the militant PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]." "Whether Afrikaner demands for a volkstaat [people's state] can be reconciled with ANC fears of sanctioning neo-apartheid and condoning 'ethnic self-determination'—and thus contradicting its commitment to nonracial nation-building—remains to be seen." A theoretical reconciliation "lies in the formation of a semi-autonomous volkstaat in a federal system."

BUSINESS DAY

Call for Government To Take Over Bantustan Finances—"If South Africa is going to take over the direct running of Lebowa's finances, it might as well do the same for the other self-governing bantustans where the looting of taxpayers' funds may merely be less blatant," says a page 4 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 27 September. "As the new South Africa approaches, apartheid's children are grabbing everything they can." "Lebowa is now bankrupt, its overdraft overdrawn, and it is demanding more money so it can pay its princely servants. The answer at last is no, but there should be a closer look at what other homelands are doing with South African taxpayers' money before they are closed down."

SOWETAN

Temper TEC Euphoria—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 27 September in a page 10 editorial notes the "laudable achievement" of all those involved in efforts to establish a new political dispensation by adopting bills such as the Transitional Executive Council Bill. However, the TEC "euphoria" must "be tempered by the difficulties that lie ahead. Negotiators in the World Trade Centre approach their most arduous hurdle this week—finalisation of the interim constitution on which next year's elections and a 'government of national unity' will be based. Already the battle lines are being drawn with major clashes expected between the ANC alliance and the Government."

DIE BURGER

De Klerk Makes "Significant Impression"—Since F.W. de Klerk became state president of South Africa he "has during this period made a significant impression on the country," says Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans in a page 10 editorial on 20 September. The country faces an election on 27 April 1994. "A new era has dawned in which the old political model finally gets written off." "During the next few weeks the multiparty negotiators will have to make final decisions regarding the transitional constitution. Key role players will have to be brought back into the negotiations process, and President de Klerk's task would be to lead his National Party from a position of weakness to a position of strength and also into an improved and relevant role in the country's politics." "For this formidable task DIE BURGER extends to him good wishes, strength and wisdom."

"Unhealthy Features" in ANC-COSATU Alliance—A second editorial on the same page notes that the ANC-Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) "is beginning to show unhealthy features. The fact that it has nominated 20 of its members to be on the first half of the ANC's list of candidates for the elections is an indication of COSATU exercising an increased stranglehold on the ANC—this predicting nothing good for the country." "Further indications are its desire to play the role of a battering ram in South African politics in order to practice its unscrupulous socialistic ideologies through the ANC, and that it is beginning to take over from another leech in ANC ranks, the SACP [South African Communist Party]. A state of retrogression within the SACP strongly promotes this process. Not only has this party been caught up in an enormous ideological crisis because of the dramatic collapse of communism worldwide, but the death of Mr. Chris Hani has left it without a leader and out of control." "Mr. Sam Shilowa, new COSATU leader implied during a television interview that it wanted to rule South Africa through the ANC."

South African Press Review for 26 Sep
MB2609144193

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY STAR

Boer State Issue—"The far-right is now a headache for the Nat [National Party] government. But as the ANC [African National Congress] prepares to take over the reins of power next year, the Boersassie Park brigade is about to become an ANC problem," an editorial in the Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 26 September on page 28 notes. "Mandela is therefore quite right to confer with Constand Viljoen's AVF [Afrikaner National Front] to explore ways of preventing what could become a chronic bleeding ulcer in the new South Africa." "The trick is for the ANC government-in-waiting to give the AVF enough apparent concessions to enable the Afrikaner separatists to save face through some form of nominal self-rule with no real autonomy." "The volkstaat [people's state] notion is a lot of nonsense. But a few face-saving symbolic but meaningless gestures could save lives in the new South Africa by morally disarming potential terrorists of a bloody but hopeless separatist cause."

SUNDAY TIMES

Lifting Sanctions—In a "seminal" moment ANC leader Nelson Mandela "ended sanctions in a few words at the United Nations, thus dispatching the ghoul his own organisation had summoned to pressure the government," an editorial in the Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 26 September on page 20 notes. "The mere lifting of sanctions is a useful but not essential precondition for economic growth. That must come from within ourselves: a resolve to work, achieve and deliver." Mr Mandela and Mr Trevor Manuel of the ANC's economics department "provided enough free market rhetoric to make sympathisers happy, but not enough, one suspects, to lure the investors." "References to social responsibility programmes for the disadvantaged may gladden the hearts of the ANC, but for the investors it is a switch-off. Quite simply, they do not owe South Africans anything and we should not demand anything of them other than they invest, keep within the law and pay their taxes."

SUNDAY NATION

Build on Gains—The passing of the Transitional Executive Council Bill "certainly represents a significant political development and brings the majority nearer the goal of a democratic government," an editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY NATION in English on 26 September on page 10 states. "While we welcome the passing of the bill, it would be folly to believe that it will change our situation overnight" as the "ambit of the bill is very limited. In fact limited to preparing the ground for elections." "This limited co-governance with the National Party is going to create some awkward moments for the other parties, because in the present arrangement the government retains a major part of its previous authority, which authority it has abused time and time again. The difference now however, is that the government will no longer be the sole player and will be

required to constantly consult with the other parties. The majority will never be satisfied until we have democratic elections, and so for that reason, we need to work full steam ahead."

DIE BURGER

Suspicious Intentions—"Selective participation in the political process for a democratic system of government which has become characteristic of a number of parties, poses a question mark about their intentions," notes a page 18 editorial in Cape Town's **DIE BURGER** in Afrikaans of 22 September. It simply does not make sense that the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], judging from its latest announcements, will not participate in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), but will do so in the elections. "The TEC's main task is "after all to level the playing field for parties before the election." The ANC in turn will wait until after the elections before it sheds its cloak of "liberation movement" to become a political party, says its secretary general, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa. "In Parliament, where legislation to bring about a transitional council is being debated, the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party indicated that they opposed the process." These views sound too much as if options are being kept open. "If they do not get their way, they can always take refuge elsewhere." It

should be noted that all these organizations either openly have private armies or go around with threats of civil war if they demands are not heeded. "The time is overdue for participants in the democratic process to fully dedicate themselves to the process and refrain from keeping a back door open in case their expectations are not satisfied along acceptable avenues." "Military alternatives will only lead to greater conflict and civil war."

Labor Party Crumbling—A page 10 editorial in Cape Town's **DIE BURGER** in Afrikaans on 21 September finds it appropriate that Reverend Allan Hendrikse's Labor Party is in the process of crumbling. "From once being in a powerful position in colored politics, the Labor Party has degenerated due to unedifying internal rumblings and the Hendrickse leadership's nepotistic nature." The party's fall has been unavoidable, but the party is itself to blame for it. "Any party which is unsure about its role in politics as the Labor Party under Rev. Hendrickse can surely not hope to survive on the long term." The death blow was when the party began cajoling the African National Congress and even became part of the radical Patriotic Front." The Labor Party executive now has dual membership with the ANC and has pledged its support in an election. "In doing so it has surrendered its identity and the whole reason for its existence."

Angola

Government Boycotts Sao Tome Talks With UNITA

LD2409170193 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe 1600 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Excerpts] Delegations representing the Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] and the observers and mediators in the Angolan peace process have been meeting in Sao Tome e Principe for the past hour to discuss the possibility of further face-to-face talks between the Luanda government and Savimbi's men. On the table are two peace proposals, one from each of the warring parties. [passage omitted]

A week ago, UNITA put forward a new peace proposal. The government's response can best be summed up by its absence from Sao Tome. Paulo Juliao reports from Luanda:

[Juliao] It is now an established fact that the government's military delegation is not going to Sao Tome e Principe for talks with UNITA's General Ben-Ben. A Luanda source confirmed that no such meeting will take place until UNITA withdraws its forces from the areas it occupied illegally after the electoral process of September of last year went off track. This position was conveyed this morning by the government's negotiating team, led by General Higinio Carneiro, to the UN secretary general's representative in Angola and the [international] observers. The government's military representatives are not going to Sao Tome, because UNITA's peace plan contains no reference to the Bicesse Accords, the Abidjan Protocol, or the UN Security Council resolutions.

Government Radio on Decision

MB2409193393 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] A closed-door meeting between Chris Garuba, military chief of the UN Angola Verification Mission [Unavem]-2, and General Ben-Ben from the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] is under way in Sao Tome city. The meeting is taking place at the Palace of Congresses, and nothing substantial is known so far about it. According to reports, the meeting is also being attended by representatives from the troika of observers.

The Angolan Government did not send its military delegation to Sao Tome, because it feels that conditions have not yet been met to hold negotiations. The government says it is ready to negotiate, but this dialogue must be based on the Bicesse Accords, the Abidjan Protocol, and the UN Security Council resolutions. The UNITA peace plan practically omits these aspects, which accounts for the government's refusal to attend today's meeting in Sao Tome.

Also according to reports, Unavem military chief Gen. Chris Garuba is carrying the government's response to

UNITA's peace plan. Garuba is expected to hand this response to Gen. Ben-Ben, head of the UNITA delegation.

UNITA Official Comments on Effects of UN Sanctions

MB2609183693 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 26 Sep 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In Angola United Nations sanctions against the UNITA [Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels came into effect today. Last minute attempts to get all sides to talk in Sao Tome proved fruitless, with the government insisting that they didn't believe UNITA was serious. But now that the sanctions have come into effect, just what impact will they have? On the line to New York, Rageh Omar spoke to UNITA's UN representative, Marcos Samondo, and asked him, now that sanctions are in place, would UNITA be changing its tactics?

[Begin recording] [Samondo] I don't think it is the embargo which is going to influence UNITA, because UNITA has already taken a unilateral decision. We have already declared a cease-fire on Monday 20th September, and we have sent our negotiator, our chief of staff, into the island of Sao Tome to talk to the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], and the MPLA did not show up. So, we have our plan, peace plan, and we don't think that it is through embargo that we are going to be moved, because we have a peace plan which has been presented to the special representative, and we are going to carry on.

[Omar] But the problem is nobody takes these initiatives of your unilateral cease-fire seriously at all. They are saying that you are only making them as gestures, and meanwhile you are continuing your onslaught in areas of Angola, particularly such places as Cuito. Nobody takes these initiatives seriously.

[Samondo] Well, what can we say, then? I think maybe the best way to avoid this issue, whether there is a cease-fire or not on the ground, we should have a meeting as soon as possible between UNITA, the government and the UN, and the first decision the agenda should be to agree that the UN should send some observers on the ground so that they can verify the cease-fire on the ground. Secondly, also should the UNITA and the government agree on setting up a joint team, mechanism, so that they can verify also the cease-fire on the ground, because now is our word against the government's word, against the UN's word, against the media's word. Who is telling the truth?

[Omar] So, you are actually not that worried about how effective these sanctions on oil and arms to UNITA will be?

[Samondo] No, not at all. I mean, obviously, if there is no oil that means that the next time when the special UN representative visits UNITA area to go to a meeting, obviously we had to walk on foot, you know, for 20 miles until the place of the meeting. Look, UNITA is a guerrilla army. I mean, a guerrilla army does not need fuel. Guerrilla army... [pauses] We don't buy weapons from... [pauses] There is not such a market of weapons for us to purchase weapons. The arms you capture from the government.

[Omar] But you say that these embargoes will not have much effect. Where are you getting the fuel that you do have from?

[Samondo] You know that Angola is an exporter of fuel.

[Omar] But UNITA does not control the oil-producing areas. Those are in the government hands. So, where are you getting your fuel supplies from?

[Samondo] Well, let me just say that Angola is an exporter of fuel and that is all that I need to say at this particular moment.

[Omar] But let me get this straight. Are you implying that UNITA is getting fuel from the government production areas?

[Samondo] I don't know. I would not know where UNITA is buying its fuel. I am a diplomat. I work here from New York and so on. The chief of logistics will know where the fuel is coming from, but I am sure that...

[Omar, interrupting] But UNITA is using Angolan-produced oil for most of its needs?

[Samondo] I am sure that for a country which exports oil, I don't think there will be a difficulty for UNITA to get oil inside Angola itself. [end recording]

UNITA Commission, General Staff Meet on Sanctions

MB2709122393 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 27 Sep 93

[Text] An official source has told the Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel that the Political Commission of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] and the General Staff of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola have been meeting in Huambo since 26 September 1993 in order to analyze the country's current political situation and the position adopted by the UN Security Council. The source added that on 1 October, UNITA will inform the world of its positions. The source said that UNITA stands for the defense of Angolans.

Mozambique

Renamo Official Comments on Conditions for Elections

MB2509063893 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] A spokesman for the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] in Maringue has said his organization is willing to participate in elections in October 1994, even without the necessary financial conditions. The source added that Renamo wants elections to be held (?without the presence) of two armies, but considering that the peace process is running behind schedule, Renamo is also willing to hold elections with the two armies.

Renamo made this decision yesterday at a meeting of its National Council in Maringue. The meeting analyzed the ongoing peace and democratization process, as well as the outcome of the recent meeting between Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama in Maputo.

The source also disclosed that the Renamo National Council has, through the United Nations, called on international community to work to ensure that elections are free, fair, and democratic so there will be no return to war.

Chissano, Labor Minister React

MB2609054493 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0500 GMT 26 Sep 93

[Text] Mozambican Head of State Joaquim Chissano has said that it is very important for the international community to act to ensure the strict implementation of the General Peace Accord. President Chissano was referring to the latest stand by the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], which has said that it is willing to participate in the October 1994 elections, even if there would still be two armies in place.

The president of the Republic noted that the process of confining and demobilizing troops on both sides has not begun yet because of Renamo's reluctance.

In turn, Labor Minister Teodato Hinguana said that the views expressed by Renamo on a timetable last week are in line with its statements that it wishes to preserve its army until elections are held in October 1994.

In an interview with Radio Mozambique, Minister Teodato Hinguana noted that the principal difficulty resides in the fact that Renamo is not willing to confine its forces immediately, alleging this is a political rather than a technical matter. Minister Hinguana said that Renamo's behavior is nothing more than a repeat of the behavior displayed by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. He added that the idea of preserving the party army in the conditions proposed by Renamo carries at least two intentions, notably to intimidate the

electorate into voting under the threat that there might be a return to war and to use that army to resume war in this country.

Meanwhile, Casimiro Nhamithambo, Social Democratic Party [Sol] leader, has said that Renamo's statements are justified because, in his opinion, the government is not interested in demobilizing its army, either. Nhamithambo affirmed that, in view of events over the last few days, notably at the multiparty draft Electoral Law talks, there appears to be no interest in creating a climate of trust between the belligerent factions until elections take place. He stressed that each side wants to resort to force to impose its own ideas. The Sol leader said that perhaps that explains why Renamo wishes to preserve its army until elections are held.

Further on Chissano Reaction

*MB2709055793 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 0500 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano says it is unacceptable to hold elections while the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] keeps its forces at bases and barracks. Cited by the Portuguese LUSA news agency in Washington, Chissano was reacting to the communique issued by Renamo at the weekend, in which the movement questioned the demobilization of its troops before elections are held.

Turning to the disarming of the militia, Chissano said it was necessary for Renamo to make a move in order to indicate that there is no danger and that the people do not need to defend themselves.

Chissano said thinks Renamo is following the example of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. As an example, he said that the movement does not allow other political parties to carry out political activities in areas it controls.

Chissano will address the UN General Assembly in New York today.

Government To Establish Relations With South Africa

*MB2609082493 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 0800 GMT 26 Sep 93*

[Text] Mozambique and South Africa have agreed to establish diplomatic relations immediately, following the request by the African National Congress that sanctions be lifted. The decision to establish bilateral diplomatic ties arose from a meeting in Washington between Mozambican Foreign Affairs Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi and Roelof Botha, his South African counterpart.

Liberia

Taylor Says Fighters' Surrender Depends on ECOMOG

AB2409141593 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1300 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Charles Taylor, leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, today reaffirmed that his fighters would not surrender their arms to the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group [ECOMOG] deployed in Liberia as long as it maintained its present configuration. On 22 September, the UN Security Council called for the immediate commencement of the disarmament and encampment process and the demobilization of combatants.

Urges Adherence to Cotonou Accord

AB2409162093 Paris AFP in English 1526 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Monrovia, 24 Sep (AFP)—Charles Taylor, leader of the rebel National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), said Friday his faction would ignore a call to lay down their arms as long as the West African peacekeeping force ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] remained in its present form. The NPFL "will not turn over a single bullet to the forces of ECOMOG because it would be a violation of the Cotonou Accord," Taylor said on Radio Gbarnga, his movement's radio station.

Under the Cotonou Accord signed on July 25 between the warring sides, a timetable was agreed for the disarmament of both sides under the guidance of an enlarged ECOMOG contingent and the United Nations, due to commence towards the end of August. The UN Security Council called Wednesday [22 September] for the process to begin immediately, and on Thursday UN special envoy Trevor Gordon-Somers appealed to the rival factions to lay down their arms in "voluntary disarmament" without waiting for the "arrival of the additional troops envisaged in the Cotonou Accord." ECOMOG currently comprises 16,000 troops, two thirds of them supplied by Nigeria and the remainder by Ghana, Sierra Leone, Guinea with a few officers from Gambia and Mali.

"I have committed myself to the Cotonou agreement and it should be adhered to by all, including the United Nations which welcomed it," Taylor said. "For the United Nations to try to undo the Cotonou Accord which all the parties to the conflict agreed to, is a sheer miscalculation." The rebel force would only be disarmed "by an expanded ECOMOG from other African countries in accordance with the Cotonou Accord," he stressed. "The NPFL does not trust the present ECOMOG on the ground."

Four African countries have so far agreed in principle to send troops join the ECOMOG force in Liberia: Egypt, Uganda, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. However earlier this

week the NPFL's foreign affairs spokesman Momolu Sirleaf said the movement would refuse to lay down its arms to representatives of countries that has recognised the interim authority in Monrovia, so far recognised only by Nigeria and Egypt.

On an air attack by two unidentified airplanes on the town of Vahun, 190 kilometres (130 miles) northwest of Monrovia, in which five people were killed and 48 wounded Thursday, Taylor said he had "no idea who carried out the attack." ECOMOG officials told AFP the forces behind the attack "remain unknown."

Relief Agencies Begin Food Drops in Northwest

AB2509150093 Paris AFP in English 1341 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Monrovia, Sept 25 (AFP)—Relief agencies have started dropping food supplies by parachute to Lofa County in northwest Liberia, where 200,000 people are in need, the UN World Food Programme (WFP) announced here Saturday. Aircraft dropped 14 tonnes of supplies, mainly rice, sugar and a mixture of wheat and soya, in Friday's first operation, the WFP's Monrovia director Gerald Van Djick said. In the next month, the region is to be supplied with some 1,700 tonnes of food and medicines at an average rate of four flights a day organised by the WFP and the Belgian wing of the charity *Médecins sans Frontières* (MSF; Doctors Without Borders), he said.

Some 140,000 displaced Liberians live in Lofa County, together with 60,000 refugees from neighbouring Sierra Leone, who have also been driven from their homes by civil war. Most of them are lodged at centres near Vahun, 190 kilometres (about 120 miles) northwest of Monrovia, and the malnutrition rate is 30 percent, according to MSF-B coordinator Lucas van den Broeck.

Van den Broeck said that the situation was worse in the centre of the country, controlled by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), where "140 children between five and 15 die each day... and the malnutrition rate has reached 60 percent."

The aid drops should have begun a week earlier but were delayed for lack of security guarantees from the armed United Liberation Movement (ULIMO), which controls most of the region, and the rival NPFL, which has seized much of Liberia but occupies only a few pockets in Lofa.

Fighting has recently been reported around Vahun, despite a cease-fire pact which has largely held since August 1, but the security guarantees finally came through.

NPFL radio meanwhile reported Saturday that a relief convoy from Cote d'Ivoire had reached the armed faction's base at Gbarnga, 160 kilometres (100 miles) north-east of Monrovia.

For two weeks, no convoys have been able to cross the Ivorian border into Liberia because UN monitors supposed to check the cargoes of the vehicles have been absent.

Several aid agencies, including MSF-B, have complained to the United Nations about what they describe as a de facto closure of the border, the main point of access to Liberia for relief.

Nigeria

12 Jun Election Winner Abiola Returns To Lagos 24 Sep

AB2409160193 *Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English* 1530 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] The presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Party, SDP, in the annulled June election in Nigeria, Chief M.K.O. Abiola, has returned to Lagos. Chief Abiola flew into the country about one hour ago on an Air France flight. The Voice of Nigeria correspondents report that he was welcomed by a large crowd of his supporters. The police, who had made elaborate plans to ensure security, had a difficult time controlling the crowd.

Chief Abiola could not address a scheduled press conference at the Lagos Airport, but in a statement yesterday in London, he said that there was need for peace and national unity in the country. He said he was returning in peace and appealed to all his supporters to be peaceful and orderly.

Chief Abiola left Nigeria early last month in the heat of the political crisis arising from the annulment of the presidential election to canvas for international support for the release of the election result.

Seeks Recognition of 12 Jun Mandate

AB2409192793 *Paris AFP in English* 1918 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Lagos, 24 Sep (AFP)—Nigerian millionaire businessman Moshood Abiola said Friday on his return here that he would fight for the recognition of results of an annulled presidential election he is believed to have won. In a statement addressed to the Nigerian people Abiola said he would "struggle for the materialisation of the mandate of June 12," the date of election declared void by former military leader General Ibrahim Babangida. "Now that I am back, it is my intention is to work with the people in order to realise the objective of peace and unity within the context of June 12," the statement said.

Issues Arrival Statement

AB2409210793 *Lagos NTA Television Network in English* 2000 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] The presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Party in the 12 June election, Chief Moshood Abiola, is back in the country. The SDP presidential

flagbearer arrived this afternoon at about three o'clock aboard an Air France passenger airline. He was received by his running mate, Ambassador Babagana Kingibe, his family, state governors, senators, and scores of assemblymen. Also at the airport to receive him were party chiefs and supporters.

Chief Abiola, who disembarked at the Presidential Lounge of the Murtala Mohamed Airport, later drove in a motorcade to his Ikeja residence. Our correspondent understood that Chief Abiola had a prepared airport speech which he could not read immediately on arrival. The SDP presidential candidate departed the country early last month in the wake of the political crisis that followed the annulment of the 12 June election.

Reports just reaching us say Chief Moshood Abiola later issued a statement at his residence in which he explained that he embarked on his overseas trip to, as he put it, advance the cause of democracy in Nigeria. Chief Abiola said he was prepared to dialogue with any one or groups of people but this, he said, will take place only on the basis of what he described as justice, fair play, and the people's will.

Shonekan Promises 'Hands of Fellowship'

AB2409195193 *Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English* 1800 GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] The head of state, Chief Ernest Shonekan, has extended his hands of fellowship to Chief Moshood Abiola as part of government's efforts to end the political crisis. Addressing diplomatic corps in Abuja, Chief Shonekan said the gesture was part of his plans to meet with various interest groups and opinion leaders in the country. He said he was encouraging everyone whose contribution was genuine and urged those outside the country to return and join the national dialogue. Chief Shonekan added that the life and liberty of everyone was guaranteed under the open-door policy, which the interim government was determined to run.

Rights Movement Plans Demonstration

AB2409185293 *Paris AFP in English* 1822 GMT 24 Sep 93

[By Jacques Pinto]

[Excerpts] Lagos, 24 Sep (AFP)—Moshood Abiola, the unofficial winner of Nigeria's annulled presidential elections, returned home Friday to an enthusiastic welcome from thousands of supporters after six weeks abroad seeking international backing for his bid for the presidency. [passage omitted]

Human rights movements meanwhile warned the Nigerian police not to attempt to impede protest demonstrations against Shonekan's interim government, due to commence on September 29 and continue until October 1, the anniversary of Nigerian independence. The umbrella pro-democracy organisation, Campaign for Democracy (CD), said in an open letter to the police that it was "not possible for free-born citizens of Nigeria to base their legitimate

expression of opposition to the regime... on permission from you or any agency of the same regime." The letter, signed by CD leader and civil rights activist Beko Ransome-Kuti, said that the police would be held responsible for any deterioration of the situation that might occur as a result of a police intervention.

Shonekan Addresses Academy, Commends Armed Forces

AB2509200593 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1800 GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] The head of state, Chief Ernest Shonekan, has reminded Nigerians that the progress of the nation depends on the ability of its citizens to resolve internal problems amicably. Chief Shonekan was speaking today at the passing out parade of the 40th Regiment course of the Nigerian Defense Academy, Kaduna. He described the country's current political problem as a step towards true obtainment of nationhood.

Chief Shonekan commended members of the Armed Forces for being calm as the problem was being solved. He said this was a testimony of their resolve to support and be loyal to civil authority. The head of state asked the graduates to continue to abide by the fundamental doctrine of total obedience to constituted political authorities. He said that they should also put into practice their pledge to defend the government and the nation's territorial sovereignty.

Correction to Shonekan Urges Support, Understanding

WA2709161593

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Urges Support, Understanding," published in the 24 September issue of the Sub-Saharan Africa DAILY REPORT, page 14:

Column one, second graf of item, second sentence, make read: ...return to full democratic governance. He said... (changing "diplomatic" to "democratic");

Column two, graf one, second sentence, make read: ...of democracy will likely sound illogical and... (changing "largely" to "likely", clearing queried words);

Same graf, last sentence, make read: ...this juncture to call on our foreign friends and partners to come and invest in Nigeria's future economic prosperity. They will, by so doing, be investing also in an enduring democracy in the... (clearing indistinct words, changing "enjoying" to "enduring");

Penultimate graf, first sentence, make read: ...interim government has already taken measures which... (changing "always" to "already")

Senegal

Diouf's Resignation From PS Leadership Anticipated

AB2209142293 Paris AFRICA INTERNATIONAL in French No. 264 Sep 93 pp 26, 27

[By Marcel Mendy]

[Excerpts] "Whoever has the party, has the state." This succinct remark made by a French expatriate teacher is pertinent for anyone who knows the entangled nature of the Socialist Party [PS] and the State. The two entities are tethered. This has been so since the era of the all-powerful Senghor when opposition to government could sometimes lead to exile or imprisonment. A lot of water has flowed under the bridge since then. Many parties are now vying for the electorate's votes, a critical media has emerged, independent labor unions have sprung up like mushrooms, and so on....

However, despite the considerable progress made in the area of public freedom, the system functions in other areas just like the time of single party rule. The head of state is still the PS secretary general and the "spoil system" is still common practice—appointments to top government and public service positions still favor party members. Although there is modest access of the opposition to state media, PS has the lion's share. The High Council on Radio and Television by showing more diligence could eventually permit the necessary readjustment.

In view of the crisis context characterized by the thrashing of his party in the May legislative elections and also by the rise in the "yellow menace"—higher education graduates who, as the saying goes, "count poles" for want of jobs—and last, by the confusion surrounding the inquiry into Mr. Babacar Seye's assassination, Abdou Diouf has decided to summon his socialist comrades to a congress in December. The president intends in this manner to thoroughly reorganize the ossified structures and to discharge some mammoths—those barons who refuse to age—in order to give way to the rising generations. The party's name is also expected to change.

However, what excites the political microcosm most beyond the partisan divisions, is the impending withdrawal of the president of the Republic from the helm of the PS. Diouf is expected to leave his function of secretary general for a new post, the simply honorary post of party chairman. [passage omitted]

As one would expect, this anticipated departure of Diouf is causing agitation within the party which is comparable only to what occurred when Senghor decided to bow out. The only difference is that the president-poet had prepared for his succession both at the head of the state and the party. His successor was known for a long time: Abdou Diouf. Obviously, Diouf's replacement at the PS secretary generalship poses more problems than it solves. The pretenders to the throne are jostling each other at

the gate: Ousmane Tanor Dieng, minister of state for presidential services and affairs, and closest aide of the head of state since 1981; Djibo Laity Ka, minister of state for interior, who has successively held different portfolios since 1981; and Moustapha Niasse, minister of state for foreign affairs and Senegalese abroad, who was the most short-lived prime minister of Senegal.

It is to be feared that the rivalries between the protagonists that have been hitherto contained might overflow and make fresh victims. The atmosphere prevailing in most party branches is very thick, a circumstance which has made the president postpone the renewal of the section leadership just before the legislative elections. In any case, whoever is appointed party boss after the December congress will to all intents and purposes be its candidate in the next elections which are slated, barring a case of force majeure, for the year 2000. The stakes are therefore very high. [passage omitted]

Sierra Leone

Government Troops Recapture 2 'Strategic' Towns

AB2509222593 Freetown SLBS Radio in English 2000
GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Government troops yesterday recaptured Goabu and Batema, towns in the Kailahun District. Making the disclosure to SLENA [SIERRA LEONE NEWS AGENCY], southern region bureau, the brigade commander, Colonel George Free, said the two towns, which are 37 miles from Kailahun town towards the Liberian border and have been strongholds of rebels, were recaptured after a fierce battle that left 28 dead with no casualties on government side.

With the recapture of these strategic towns by government troops, Col. George Free said the rebels are now being encircled and cut off from escaping to neighboring countries and are now in complete disarray.

Government Apologizes to Liberia Over Vahun Incident

AB2409221393 Freetown SLBS Radio in English 2000
GMT 24 Sep 93

[Text] Patriotic officers of the Republic of Sierra Leone military forces have gallantly repelled an attack by Foday Sankoh's Revolutionary United Front, RUF, on positions held by government troops a few miles outside the recaptured town of Kailahun. In a statement released by government today, during the Sierra Leone Army's counterattack which included air support, one of the planes overshot its target and in fact hit the Liberian border town of Vahun. The Sierra Leone Government has apologized to the Liberian authorities for the incident, making it abundantly clear that the West African peace-keeping force, ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], played no part in the operation.

Togo

President Eyadema Sworn In 24 Sep

AB2409150093 Lome Radio Lome in French 1230
GMT 24 Sep 93

[Excerpt] The president of the Republic, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, was sworn in this morning as first president of the Fourth Republic. It was during a solemn ceremony that took place at the Congress Hall in Lome before an impressive crowd. [passage omitted]

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